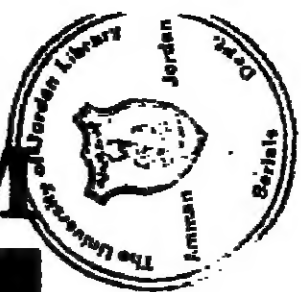


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SHABAT	BEGINS	ENDS
Jerusalem	4:16 p.m.	5:28 p.m.
Tel Aviv	4:34 p.m.	5:30 p.m.
Haifa	4:25 p.m.	5:28 p.m.

# THE JERUSALEM POST

Vol. LV, No. 16661 Friday, October 30, 1987 • Herzl 7, 5748 • Rabia Awa 9, 1408 NIS 2.00 (Eilat NIS 1.75)



Copies printed today:  
**51,500**  
THE JERUSALEM  
**POST**

## \$ slumps for 4th straight day

NEW YORK—The dollar slumped yesterday for the fourth straight day, amid traders' scepticism that efforts by leading industrial nations to prop up the U.S. currency could do very much to arrest its fall.

Despite further market intervention from central banks in both Europe and the U.S., and a flurry of supportive comments by various officials, including U.S. Treasury Secretary James Baker, the dollar found little respite from this week's slide.

The currency dropped to a seven-year low of 1.7265 West German marks in New York morning trading from Wednesday's 1.7380 New York close, and fell by half a yen to 137.90 from Wednesday's 138.45.

The Federal Reserve Bank came into the market at mid-morning to buy dollars, dealers said, but its efforts nudged the currency up only fractionally.

Blue Chip stocks on the New York Stock Exchange soared yesterday with bargain-hunters on a buying spree, as the dollar continued to fall on the international money markets. The Dow Jones Average of 30 leading industrials, the major index on the big board, showed a 91.51

points gain to close at 1,938.33, marking its second consecutive gain, which some dealers suggested might be a sign that calm was returning to the market.

Unlike Wednesday, the gains were not limited to the Blue Chips on the Dow, with gainers outnumbering decliners on the NYSE by 1,496 to 365. Wall Street appeared to be oblivious to the flagging fortunes of the dollar.

Comments by Baker to reporters that the U.S. firmly supports the agreement on world currencies reached last February in Paris further steadied the currency, but it was still well below Wednesday's close.

Earlier in Europe, the dollar briefly touched its lowest level against the Japanese yen since World War II.

In Tokyo, the Bank of Japan bought an estimated \$800 million-\$1 billion in an effort to slow the currency's decline.

But a senior dealer at a U.S. bank in Tokyo commented: "The central bank, against its intention, simply overheated the selling passion of participants, who were dying to sell the dollar."



Some 1,000 Roman Catholic priests, monks, nuns, and lay people yesterday braved threatening grey clouds to visit the traditional site of the baptism of Jesus by the Jordan River yesterday. The annual pilgrimage to the site near Jericho was renewed two years ago, after being stopped since the Six Day War because of its proximity to the Jordanian border. The photograph shows monks praying at the site watched over by an IDF soldier. (AFP)

## Kremlin: Leaders to meet by year's end

### Reagan: I'll wait to see Shevardnadze

## Soviets claim 'Star Wars' on summit agenda

WASHINGTON (Reuter). — President Reagan said yesterday that he will wait until he meets Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to find out whether there will be a superpower summit by the end of the year, after a Soviet official said the U.S. has agreed to discuss "strategic arms cuts."

The Soviets clearly think this means that they can put Reagan's Star Wars on the agenda; but it remains to be seen whether the U.S. and the Soviets are really in agreement about the topics to be dealt with at the summit.

Reagan was asked about summit prospects during a picture-taking session after a Soviet spokesman in Moscow had told reporters that a meeting of the superpower leaders was planned for the end of the year.

"I'm going to wait until tomorrow (Friday) and find out from the foreign minister," Reagan said, referring to his coming meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Shevardnadze, who arrives Thursday evening from Prague, is said to be bringing a letter for Reagan from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Only last week a summit appeared to be in jeopardy after Gorbachev, in talks with Secretary of State George Shultz, linked it with imposition of restraints on the U.S. Strategic Defence Initiative, which Reagan refuses to do.

Moscow appeared to switch signals when it announced that Shevardnadze was making a surprise trip to Washington, and earlier yesterday Boris Pyadyshev, deputy chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, told a news briefing in Moscow the way had been cleared for the summit.

Pyadyshev said discussion of strategic arms reductions and the future of the 1972 ABM treaty which limits missile defences, "will be discussed in detail at the summit planned to be held at the end of this year."

A Soviet spokesman said yesterday a summit between Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan was (Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

## Treasury hopes export workers will take wage cut

Post Economic Staff  
The Treasury will try to persuade workers in the electronic and defence industries, as well as all other industries exporting to the dollar bloc, to agree to a wage cut if the weakening of the dollar continues or if the American currency stabilizes at its current low level. In this way, the Finance Ministry will try to avoid a devaluation, officials told The Jerusalem Post last night.

The rate of exchange of the dollar dropped yesterday to NIS 1.5765, the lowest since January 12. The reduction in the dollar value was the cause of much concern to the Treasury and the Bank of Israel, where senior officials are trying to find a way out of the potential crisis threatening the industries exporting to the dollar area.

According to the Treasury's Budget

Department director, David Boaz, the drop in the dollar took the ministry by surprise.

In planning next year's budget, the ministry had not taken into account the possibility of a drop in the value of the dollar, he said. If this drop goes on, the country's leadership will have to decide what steps should be taken, Boaz added.

Speaking yesterday in Tel Aviv, Finance Minister Moshe Nissim said he was still committed to a stable rate of exchange. He said his policy in the coming months would be based on a balanced budget and wage restraint.

"The solution to the economy's problems is not to change the rate of exchange but to continue with the present policies and with a stable rate of exchange," he said. To get

## 2 French officers shot dead, 1 wounded in east Beirut

BEIRUT (AFP). — Two French Embassy guards were shot dead and a third was seriously wounded yesterday when unidentified assailants opened fire at point-blank range in an east Beirut shopping street, the embassy said.

Lieutenant Christian Mondon, 29, and Warrant Officer Andre Cruse, 48, died instantly, officials in the French Defense Ministry in Paris said. Sergeant Miguel Collignon, 30, was undergoing emergency surgery at an east Beirut hospital.

An Embassy spokesman said the three gendarmes, all armed and in uniform, had parked their jeep and were getting out in front of a shop in the Dora district when they were shot in the head by two assailants.

A shopkeeper who witnessed the mid-morning killing told Agence France-Presse that the attackers were young men wielding machine pistols. He said the pair immediately returned to their car, firing in the air, and escaped.

President Amin Jemayel, in a telephone call to French Ambassador Paul Blanc, condemned the attack, authoritative sources here said.

## Gaza demolitions spark rioting

By JOEL GREENBERG  
Jerusalem Post Reporter  
Security forces in Gaza demolished the homes of four Palestinian gunmen killed this month in clashes with security forces, setting off violent protests in the city yesterday.

The riots erupted yesterday in Shaj'iyia and the Unruh tear gas in Gaza, where troops used tear gas and fired in the air to disperse stone-throwing youths. Twenty pupils were arrested.

An Israeli car was burnt on al-Wahda Street in Gaza after being pelted with stones. Its driver, from Sderot, fled to the local police station.

Two other motorists were lightly hurt when stones were thrown at their vehicles in the city. Soldiers riding an army vehicle fired in the air to disperse a group of youths who blocked their way and yanked their car.

A curfew was clamped on Gaza's Shaj'iyia neighbourhood on Wednesday night when three of the houses were demolished. The homes belonged to three Islamic Jihad members, killed in the vicinity on October 6, during a shootout with security forces. In that inci-

dent, Shin Bet agent Victor Arjuna was killed.

One house demolished belonged to Sami Khalil who escaped from Gaza prison with five other inmates on May 18. He is believed to have fatally shot Military Police Captain Ron Tal in Gaza on August 2, and planted a bomb on the Gaza bypass road on August 30.

The other two homes belonged to Fayez Gharabli and Ahmad Khalas, who were killed in the shootout as they rode with two other escaped prisoners in a car packed with weapons. A room and bathroom facilities (Continued on Page 16)

## Pentagon wants to cut cash for joint missile project

By WOLF BLITZER  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent  
WASHINGTON. — The Pentagon is considering a plan whereby the U.S. would fund 80 per cent and Israel 20 per cent of a joint project to develop an Anti-Tactical Ballistic Missile (ATBM).

The plan is a key item on the agenda of the U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation negotiations scheduled to be resumed in Washington on November 16-18. U.S. officials said yesterday.

They said that a preliminary working session would take place in Israel next week to set the stage for the broader Washington talks.

Israeli officials had earlier hoped that the U.S. would cover the entire cost. More recently, they had come to hope for a 90-10 split.

Assistant Secretary of Defence for International Security Affairs Richard Armitage and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near

## NRP up in arms over Shapira's 'Kahanist' plan

By MENACHEM SHALEV  
Post Political Reporter  
The National Religious Party was up in arms yesterday following the remarks of its Minister Yosef Shapira in Ashkelon this week that the state should give \$20,000 to any Arab who emigrates from Israel.

An NRP spokesman said yesterday that top NRP sources had described Shapira's proposal as "foolish and Kahanist," adding that it does not reflect party policy.

Shaul Yahalom, the NRP's political secretary-general said at a meeting of the NRP's elections staff yesterday that Shapira's "inciting" remarks have caused great damage to the NRP's attempts to coexist with the Arabs and may have also harmed its electoral prospects.

Shapira himself defended his proposal at the elections-staff meeting

and said that it was only a part of an overall plan to combat the emerging demographic dilemma posed by the rate of growth of the Arab population.

Religious Affairs Minister Ze'ev Hammer, whose leadership of the NRP is contested by Shapira, sharply condemned Shapira's remarks saying that they are similar to Kahanist methods and proposals.

"Transfer, even with payment is alien to the NRP and harms it. The proposal should not have been raised at all."

Sources close to Shapira said that the minister would formally submit his "overall plan" for adoption by the Hamizrahi faction of the Zionist Congress and to the NRP's ideological convention to be held in mid-December.

In addition to financial incentives

## Reagan nominates Jew instead of Bork for Supreme Court

By WOLF BLITZER  
WASHINGTON. — President Ronald Reagan yesterday nominated Douglas Ginsburg, a Jew, to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court.

Ginsburg, a respected District of Columbia Court judge, is expected to win speedy Senate confirmation unlike Robert Bork, the president's previous nominee, who was rejected by the Senate.

Ginsburg, 41, is a law professor at Harvard and a former senior Justice Department official.

If confirmed by the Senate, he would resume the tradition of having a Jew serve on the highest court in the U.S. Until the late 1960s, there was for several decades a so-called "Jewish seat" on the nine-member body.

Earlier Jewish justices include Arthur Goldberg, Felix Frankfurter, Louis Brandeis, Benjamin Cardozo and Abraham Fortas.

But that tradition ended when Fortas was forced to leave the bench amid political scandal.

Much of the American Jewish community opposed the Bork nomination, but that opposition will now almost certainly disappear.

American blacks will also have a tougher time opposing Ginsburg, because he once was a law clerk to Justice Thurgood Marshall, the only black member of the highest court.

Thus, the expectation is that Ginsburg will win approval following lengthy Senate Judiciary Committee hearings.

## ITV blank for another weekend

By GREER FAY CASHMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter  
By yesterday evening it became clear that Israelis will probably spend yet another weekend without state television, as ongoing attempts to settle the journalists' strike fell through.

The journalists believe the strike could last well into next week. But their principal antagonists, the Treasury, are hoping the impact of the shrunken salaries the journalists will get on Sunday will force the television and radio workers to capitulate.

Many journalists will receive less than NIS400 as payment for the first week of work before the start of the strike, now in its 24th day. And in the Treasury, officials hope that this will increase the psychological pressure on the rank and file of the journalists' union.

The strikers knew in advance that money would be deducted from their salaries for each day of the strike, but knowing is not quite the same as seeing the actual pay slip.

Broadcast strike - page 7

with the uncommonly low figure in the bottom left-hand corner. As the political pressures mount in the battle of nerves between the journalists and the government, it has become increasingly evident that the impending opening of the second channel looms over the dispute. It may be one extra pressure on the journalists to go back to work, and the government may use this in its campaign.

Certainly, from the perspective of the second channel, the IBA strike. (Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)



## SA envoy: Sanctions go beyond feeling of country

PRETORIA doesn't regard the defence sanctions recently imposed by Israel against South Africa as "very serious, though they will most definitely make themselves felt," South Africa's ambassador to Israel, Eduard Antonie Loubser, said yesterday, in a rare interview.

"We set up Armscor (South Africa's giant defence industry) because of previous arms sales sanctions and ostracism. We have learned that we cannot rely on any big brother. Our Western allies in the long term are unreliable. Even Great Britain, though Thatcher is most reliable and has sound points of view. But the West is unreliable, so we have learned that we must defend ourselves."

Loubser also mentioned the ban, imposed by Israel's inner cabinet last month, on steel imports from South Africa as potentially having "some effect."

"But I am much more concerned about (the sanctions affecting) human relations, sports and cultural links, and mutual visits," he says.

"If there are Israelis who feel strongly about visiting South Africa, then let them stay away. Why sanctions?" Loubser does not believe that such feelings are "widespread" in Israel. Indeed, he says that the sanctions decisions by the inner cabinet, passed in two stages last March and last month, went "beyond the feeling of the country."

He blames the inner cabinet's decision on western pressures, and asserts: "Your relations with South Africa are not really important to the Americans. It won't be the South African relationship which will lead (to a cut in) American aid (to Israel)."

Because the Israeli sanctions were a product of western pressure, "there was a certain understanding" for Israel's position in Pretoria and, "as far as one can tell from the

South African press, among the South African public," says Loubser. "We shall remain reasonable in our reaction," he adds with a smile.

Will the sanctions affect South African government and public attitudes to South Africa Jewry? Loubser thinks not, or at least not significantly - as "harsher sanctions" had they been imposed, might have.

Could they increase anti-Semitism? "No, that's out. We have a basic point of view. We cannot allow any form of 'anti' feelings - racism, anti-black feeling, or anti-Jewish feeling."

Loubser admits that there is "an extreme right" in South Africa which has a banner "that hurts Jewish feelings" (it recalls a swastika). "Let's be adult enough to confess that there are people and this or anti that. But then even here in Kaplan Street (Tel Aviv) I saw a swastika painted on a wall - fortunately not on our (embassy) building." Loubser dismisses such ex-

Supplement your reading this week in  
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MONDAY:	TUESDAY:
In celebration of the Balfour Declaration's 70th birthday, the 20-page Israel-British Trade and Ties supplement will include:	A special treat for Post readers - an all-colour, glossy magazine, the 16-page Automotive '88 supplement:
★ Two-way tourism is at unprecedented levels, while trade is increasing as well	★ What's new on the road for 1988
★ The business of business matchmaking: our Chambers of Commerce at work	★ Solutions to the snarls: the traffic tangle is attacked
★ The quieter side of London shopping	★ Dear Mechanic...
★ A historical perspective of the Balfour Declaration	★ Behind the wheel of a BMW
★ You wouldn't believe which Israeli products are packing Britain's supermarkets	★ Israel's eternal debate on road safety
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## The weather at major Swissair destinations

23.10.87

	MIN	MAX	C	F	W
AMSTERDAM	10	14	14	57	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	8	14	14	57	Cloudy
BUCHAREST	12	24	27	80	Clear
CHICAGO	-1	11	8	47	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	4	10	10	50	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	7	18	13	55	Cloudy
GOSHA	11	12	15	59	Bale
KHARTOUM	4	20	20	68	Clear
ROMA	24	28	28	82	Cloudy
STUTTGART	13	28	28	82	Clear
LEON	11	22	22	72	Clear
LONDON	6	12	12	54	Cloudy
MADRID	8	18	18	64	Cloudy
MONTREAL	6	12	12	54	Cloudy
NEW YORK	6	12	12	54	Cloudy
OSLO	7	12	12	54	Bale
PARIS	10	18	18	64	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	18	28	28	82	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	6	12	12	54	Cloudy
TOKYO	10	24	24	75	Clear
TORONTO	-1	10	10	50	Cloudy
ZURICH	8	12	12	54	Cloudy

\*For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.

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## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Possible rain in early morning clearing towards midday. Outlook for Saturday: Partly cloudy with a slight rise in temperatures.

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Min-Max	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	14-16	10-16	16
Golan	17	10-19	19
Nahariya	83	-23	23
Safad	41	9-16	16
Haifa Port	58	-22	23
Tiberias	57	12-24	24
Nazareth	47	12-21	19
Afula	42	12-21	22
Shomron	70	12-16	17
Tel Aviv	14	15-20	22
B-C Airport	84	14-20	22
Jericho	65	15-23	24
Gaza	59	16-22	22
Beersheba	57	14-21	24
Eilat	32	18-26	28

## SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Uruguayan Minister of Health Dr. Raul Mariani Ugarte and his wife yesterday visited the Weizmann Institute of Science as guests of its deputy president, Prof. Shmuel Shalev, and also met with Prof. Nathan Trainin.

## Warmer weather over the weekend

By DAVID BAKER  
For The Jerusalem Post  
The weatherman forecasts mid-morning rain in the north and centre of the country this morning, giving way to higher temperatures this weekend.  
Eilat vacationers will enjoy sunny skies with temperatures reaching 29 degrees, while the rest of Israel will experience a mixture of clouds and sun until Sunday.  
Jerusalemites can expect a high of 19 degrees over Shabbat, Tel Aviv and Haifa residents a high of 24, while in Safed temperatures will reach 18 degrees.

## Two teenagers admit setting carriage ablaze

By ANDY COURT  
For The Jerusalem Post  
Two 16-year-old Jewish youths have confessed that they set the historic Montefiore carriage in Jerusalem's Yemin Moshe neighbourhood on fire last December, the police said yesterday.  
Police investigators are still trying to figure out exactly what the teenagers' motives were. They believe that the reasons were not particularly "logical" and that the youth who initiated the plan may require psychological testing, a police official said.  
The boys, both from Jerusalem, were recently caught driving a stolen car in the Petah Tikva area. Investigators from the Jerusalem Police Youth Division began questioning them about the car theft and about some instances of purse-snatching.  
In the course of the investigation, they discovered that the two were involved in the burning of the carriage as well.  
Investigators brought the youths to the spot next to Montefiore's windmill in Yemin Moshe where the carriage — which transported British-Jewish philanthropist Sir Moses Montefiore on his journeys throughout the Holy Land between 1827 and 1875 — had been exhibited. They photographed the youths reconstructing the crime.  
Efforts to replace or rebuild the destroyed carriage are continuing. The Jerusalem Foundation, the East Jerusalem Development Corporation, the editor of the *Jewish Chronicle* in London, and a representative of the Sebag-Montefiore family are weighing the costs of either buying a similar carriage in London, or attempting to reconstruct the severely damaged original.

## HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

# General defends halving sentences of soldiers who brutally beat Arab

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT  
Aluf Yitzhak Mordechai, O/C Southern Command, is confident that he did the right thing in halving the sentences of three soldiers jailed for beating up a handcuffed Khan Yunis resident. The three are to be freed on Sunday.  
According to a source close to Mordechai, the general thinks that courts — even military courts — cannot fully appreciate the circumstances under which soldiers operate in the Gaza area and the implications of the sentences they pass.  
The three soldiers had pleaded guilty to brutally attacking 27-year-old Sirhan Abu-Salik, a Khan Yunis labourer.  
The incident occurred on April 12, after demonstrators set fire to a tyre near the girls' high school in town. Abu-Salik, who did not take part in the demonstration, arrived at the scene riding his bike, and a company commander ordered him to help clear the roadblock.  
Abu-Salik refused and said — according to the testimony of one of the soldiers before the South-

ern District Court — "It's not my job". The soldiers took him in their jeep to their headquarters.  
At the compound other soldiers grabbed Abu-Salik by his hair and pulled him off the vehicle. The jeep left and — according to Abu-Salik — five or six soldiers hit him with their fists and kicked him. They took him to the lavatory, undressed him, gave him a broom, and told him to clean the toilets. When he refused, they stuck his head into a toilet and told him to "eat shit."  
Finally, Abu-Salik agreed to clean the toilets. He testified that he was allowed to dress, but was taken to a secluded part of the camp where he was handcuffed with his hands behind his back. A soldier slammed his neck, and Abu-Salik collapsed.  
He came on to the steps to a camp building when two other soldiers poured water on him and told him to get up.  
"I told him I didn't want to get up. I told him to shoot me and that I didn't want to go home," he related in court. The soldier released the plastic handcuffs, let him wash his face and hands, and freed him.

In the trial, Abu-Salik failed to identify the soldiers who assaulted him in the toilet, and the prosecution dropped that part of the charge sheet. But the three Druse soldiers involved in the incident pleaded guilty to beating him up.  
The judges took the soldiers' "positive" record into account, but evidently attached more weight to Abu-Salik's illegal detention and to the absence of evidence of his involvement in the disturbances.  
"The violence against him was done with no real reason," the judges said. Abu-Salik faced his three tormentors "entirely defenceless.... It was a...premeditated act in the heart of a military camp [and he was] completely at the assailants' mercy," the court declared.  
"It is important to instill in the civilian population under Military Government the feeling that the Israeli authorities operate within the law and existing regulations. Protecting residents' rights can contribute to security," the court added.  
On September 29, the court found them guilty of brutality and sent them to jail for three months, plus

three months suspended. The corporal was demoted to private.  
The verdict was forwarded to Mordechai who, on October 20, decided to halve their jail terms.  
The source questioned yesterday said Mordechai believes there were extenuating circumstances. The Druse soldiers involved were good soldiers and had served in the Gaza Strip for six months. Knowing Arabic, they could understand the Palestinians' unflattering comments.  
Mordechai was not trying to cover up anything, *The Jerusalem Post* was told. It was he who instructed the Military Police to investigate the incident, and he did not restore the rank of corporal to the demoted soldier, nor did he reduce the overall sentence — only the period which they were actually in prison. He felt that three months in jail was too much for soldiers who had erred.  
Mordechai was also concerned with the implications the affair had for the soldiers' unit and for the Druse community in Israel. For these reasons, Mordechai felt he was justified in exercising his powers.



Twenty-two women, including mothers and married women, this week became registered nurses after completing a four-year nursing course of the Kumat Holim Chalit Nursing School in Haifa's Carmel Hospital. (Paul Meloni)

## Sheftel rebuffed in 3-hour session devoid of drama

By ERNIE MEYER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter  
Yesterday's session of the Demjanjuk trial lasted only three hours, which were devoted to legal technicalities and were devoid of the colour and drama that is generated when a witness is on the stand.  
Since the defence had no witness ready, the judges decided to hear its argument against the admissibility of certain testimony taken in Germany this summer. Chief defence counsel Yoram Sheftel failed to convince the court.

were even stronger arguments against admitting the evidence collected in Berlin — in the presence of all three judges. The court there heard the examination and cross-examination of Otto Horn, aged 83. SS-man Horn had been in charge of the burning of bodies at Treblinka. He was the only one of 12 Germans accused in the 1964 Treblinka trial in Duesseldorf to be acquitted.  
Yoram Sheftel claimed that conflicting reports were used in the hearing and that as a result the defence could not conduct a proper

## No victory in Gulf War seen as best for Israel

By BENNY MORRIS  
Post Diplomatic Correspondent  
Foreign Ministry director-general Yossi Beilin yesterday said that an early conclusion of the Iran-Iraq war, "without victor or vanquished," would be the best outcome for Israel.  
Beilin said that the prolongation of the war "increases the strength of the two countries' armies and introduces new, sophisticated weaponry into the region."  
Beilin described the war as one between an old, "traditional" enemy (Iraq) of Israel and a "new" enemy (Iran). He said he wasn't sure which country was more dangerous, from Israel's perspective.  
"I don't recommend that (the Is-

raeli leadership) divide into pro-Iranian and pro-Iraqi factions," said Beilin.  
The Iranian revolution's main success outside Iran has been in Lebanon, as embodied in the pro-Iranian Hizbullah party, he noted.  
Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin yesterday denied a press report that he had told a gathering of foreign newsmen in Jerusalem on Wednesday that Iran is "Israel's best friend" in the region. Talking on Army Radio yesterday, Rabin said that he had been misunderstood. He said that he had referred to Iran under the shah, before Khomeini, as having been Israel's best friend, but that this was far from being the case today.



Tat-Aluf Elkana Harnof takes over on Sunday as military secretary to Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin. He replaces Tat-Aluf Hagai Regav. Born in 1939 in Rishon LeZion and raised in Kibbutz Sdot Yam, Harnof has a BA from Tel Aviv University in Middle Eastern studies and Bible. (IDF)

## Labour leaders refuse to budge from Lewinsky

Labour Party leaders yesterday reaffirmed their support for Akiva Lewinsky's candidacy to head the Jewish Agency despite the "veto" imposed by the Agency's board of governors earlier this week.  
At a meeting of the party bureau, which took place in a protest tent erected by the United Kibbutz Movement outside the Knesset, Labour Secretary-General Uzi Baram said that the party discussions about an alternative candidate to Lewinsky constituted a personal insult to Lewinsky himself but caused even greater damage to Labour's goal of replacing the current leadership in the Jewish Agency.  
Baram said that the coalition agreement, signed between Labour, the Confederation, the Conservatives and the Reform movement, did not aim to exclude the Likud and the Mizrahi religious Zionists from the Agency's management, but only to replace its head.

## Shamir reaffirms opposition to international 'patronage'

By ROBERT ROSENBERG  
Jerusalem Post Reporter  
Direct peace negotiations between Israel and an Arab partner could involve "a mutual request for outside aid," Prime Minister Shamir said yesterday, while reiterating his emphatic opposition to any international "patronage" of such negotiations.  
Such "outside aid" ostensibly would come from an international forum of some undefined sort, Shamir said. He added that he "could understand an international conference convening at the end of a negotiating process...in order to stamp approval on the conclusions of those negotiations."  
Insisting that all the reports that followed U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz's visit to the region earlier this month were "inaccurate," Shamir told the Israel Press Club that he had not agreed to "any (international) patronage" of the peace process.  
The Soviet Union's "legitimate

interests" in the Middle East, like those of Europe, Shamir said, are a result of both geographic proximity and political and commercial interests. These "do allow a dialogue, but do not allow intervention." But that dialogue, said Shamir, could only begin after the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries.  
Asked about the Arab summit slated for November 8 in Amman, Shamir said, "King Hussein so far rejects any other negotiating forum than the international conference. But nothing is permanent in politics. We knew Sadat's position before he came. I don't want to hint that Hussein would do the same; after all it depends on him."  
Turning to the Camp David accords, which he opposed at the time they were ratified in the Knesset — but, as Speaker, he abstained on the vote — Shamir described these as "the limits of Israeli concessions" but added that the accords "could be expanded or broadened."

## IDF troops to get memo on Aids

IDF soldiers are to receive a brief memo explaining what Aids is, making it clear that they cannot acquire it in normal dealings with fellow soldiers, and advising them to use condoms and to restrict sexual relations to a partner they know well.  
The memo, prepared by the IDF Medical Corps, notes that the disease has been detected in 79 countries. It states that Aids cannot be transmitted through food utensils or a touch of the hand. This is designed to reassure soldiers that they cannot get Aids by eating in army mess halls or by helping comrades through trying exercises.

## Farmers meet Shamir over financial ills

By DAVID BAKER  
For The Jerusalem Post  
Heads of Kibbutzim, moshavim, and farms met yesterday with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir on the fate of the troubled agricultural industry. Currently, dozens of farming settlements are in danger of collapse, as a result of outstanding debts and the interest they bear.  
"If no solution is found to the

financial problem, total chaos will take over," a spokesman for the farmers said, saying the situation is rapidly taking turns for the worse. The agricultural representatives told the premier that the interest rates alone are preventing them from climbing out of their financial bind. The farmers decided to end the demonstration, they have been holding opposite the Treasury.

## Cry of 'Shabbos' expected tomorrow

By ANDY COURT  
For The Jerusalem Post  
Movies and protests once again figure prominently on the Shabbat schedules of Jerusalem's secular and religious activists.  
Four Jerusalem movie houses will screen films tonight — Beit Agon, Cinematheque, Orna and Beit Yitzhaki in the German Colony. Musical and theatrical performances will be held at Tzavta, Beit Shmuel and Kibbutz Ramat Rahel.  
Shas, Agudat Yisrael and the National Religious Party will hold a protest with about 100 people in front of the Orna and Beit Agon cinemas from 9 p.m. — 11 p.m. Tomorrow afternoon, between 3 p.m. and 4 p.m., members of the ultra-Orthodox community are expected to cry "Shabbos!" at major intersections throughout the city, according to the instructions on posters appearing in their neighbourhoods.  
City Councilor David Bergman (National Religious Party) and Moshe Nimli, Shas's Jerusalem spokesman, vowed yesterday that the religious protests would not stop with the coming of winter, as in the past.  
"Teddy Kollek thought that the moment winter came everything would quieten down," Nimli said yesterday.

Following this, prosecutor Michael Shaked raised objections to a future witness, German lawyer Dr. Goetz (no first name was given) being called. But Shaked withdrew his objections after counter-arguments by Sheftel and on the advice of the bench.  
"In an important case such as ours, we cannot expect the defence to forgo any evidence," remarked Levin.  
Starting next week, there will again be morning and afternoon sessions, 8.30-1.00 and 4.00-6.30.

In deep sorrow, we announce the passing of our beloved husband, father, grandfather and brother

**ALFRED (Anshel) BALL**

who will be laid to rest today, Friday, October 30, 1987.

The funeral will leave from the Municipal Funeral Parlour, 5 Daphne St., Tel Aviv, at 11 a.m. for the Kiryat Shaul Cemetery.

Wife: Hella Chaya  
Children: Gilli and Alf Fridman, Judith and Benni Ferber, Orna and Shaul Friedman  
Grandchildren: Shmuel-Ori, Avner, Ariela and Daniel  
Brother: Julius Ball  
Sister: Cilli Reich (Santiago, Chile) and the Ball, Shifman and Listenberg families in Israel and abroad

Yeda Research and Development Company at the Weizmann Institute of Science expresses its profound condolences to Prof. EPHRAIM FREI former Chairman of the Board of Directors, on the passing of his beloved wife.

**Yael**

With deep sorrow, we announce the death of our dearest

**WANDA SANDLER**

The funeral will be held at 10:15 a.m., Sunday, November 1, 1987, at the Kfar Samir Cemetery, Haifa.

Meeting at the main entrance to the Cemetery.

The family

The unveiling of the tombstone of the late

**LEONARD SCHER**

will take place at 3:30 p.m., Tuesday, November 3, 1987 at the Kfar Etzion Cemetery.

The family

To Adi Garton and family

Sincere condolences on the loss of your

**Father**

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**IDA CAPELOUTO**

dearly beloved mother and grandmother of Nicky, Sharlene, Adiel and Daniela, passed away on Thursday, October 29, 1987.

The funeral will be held at 10 a.m. today, Friday, October 30, 1987 at the Holon Cemetery.

Deeply mourned.

With deep sorrow, I commemorate the first anniversary of the passing of my beloved husband

**ISRAEL (Issy) SRAGO**

Azkara service will be held at his graveside at Kiryat Shaul Cemetery at 3 p.m., Sunday, November 1, 1987.

We will meet at the gate.

Dina Srago and family

Handwritten text in Arabic script at the bottom of the page.



# Philippine killings may herald anti-U.S. terror wave

MANILA (Reuters).—The murder of three Americans outside a major U.S. airbase could signal the start of a Communist terror campaign against American bases in the Philippines, a military spokesman said yesterday.

In Manila, suspected Communist rebels gunned down five people in the streets, bringing to 14 the number killed in a three-day assassination wave in and around the capital.

Police said they bore the stamp of previous street killings by Communist hit squads called "sparrows" for their swiftness.

The 14 dead included 11 Filipinos, mostly soldiers and policemen, and three Americans, two of them serving and one retired.

The Americans were shot in succession on Wednesday outside Clark Air Base, 80 kilometres north of Manila.

Senior army sources investigating the killing of the Americans said they had captured a Communist document showing a "programme

outline" of a terror campaign to be waged around U.S. bases in the country.

The sources said the alleged rebel operation was codenamed "Amerto"—American targets of opportunity. It was to be carried out in two phases, the first from August to October this year, and the second from October to March, they said.

The document was taken from two Communists captured in a mass round-up of suspected leftists in a village near Angeles city, which is adjacent to Clark, the sources said.

The assassinations have struck fear at Clark and at Subic Naval Base, America's largest military facilities overseas.

Until Wednesday's assassinations, the estimated 15,000 American soldiers and thousands of dependents living on and off the two bases had largely been spared political violence.

Clark officials have urged Americans to limit travel outside the base to essentials. At Subic, 50 kms. west

of Manila, sailors were restricted from travelling to Clark.

Around Clark, night clubs and girls bars that normally throb with business were empty on Wednesday.

"Obviously it has changed the atmosphere a great deal," a Clark spokesman said in a radio interview. "The atmosphere here is one of concern ... Obviously we are very upset."

U.S. Air Force police, previously armed only with batons, carried high-powered weapons in tighter patrols around the base perimeter.

An anonymous male who claimed to be a Communist rebel called a western news agency yesterday. He said his unit killed the Americans in retaliation for the U.S. delivery of 10 armoured personnel carriers to Philippine troops fighting insurgents.

"We will kill seven more," the caller said.

The call could not be verified and political analysts were sceptical. No one has claimed responsibility

for the assassinations, but they bore the trademark of the Communist "sparrow units"—swift attacks, mostly with 45-calibre revolvers, and quick getaways.

A recent issue of the Communist organ *Liberation* described the establishment of an urban guerrilla network in Manila by the Communist New People's Army. Propaganda groups would build up mass support in Manila and prepare people for "a higher stage of struggle". *Liberation* said. Other support groups would provide logistics and funds, while intelligence units "draw the profiles of all targets."

Since January, the sparrows have claimed responsibility for the deaths of more than 30 soldiers and police in street ambushes in the capital.

The sparrows usually act in teams of three—a triggerman, a backup gunman and a lookout.

Despite much-publicised "eagle squads" set up to hunt the sparrows, the military has scored no major successes. One officer admitted that in a country where an estimated five

million civilians own guns, about one-third of them illegal, there had also been a tendency to blame any murder on the sparrows.

But a western diplomat noted that the latest wave of urban terror broke out a week after President Corason Aquino swore she would get tough with the Communists and rejected suggestions the government was prepared to open peace talks.

The Clark Air Base killings coincided with a new low in Philippine-U.S. relations. On Wednesday, Washington recalled from its Manila embassy a military attache accused of interfering in the August 28 coup attempt.

The western diplomat said the attacks also followed stepped-up U.S. military aid to the Philippines and assurances by Washington that it fully supported the embattled Aquino government.

The analysts pointed to several recent signs that the National People's Army would go on the offensive.



SOVIET FASHION — New York models take part in a presentation this week of creations by Vyacheslav Zaitsev, the first Soviet designer to show in the U.S. (Reuters)

## Journalist says Indian anti-Tiger air raid kills civilians

NEW DELHI (Reuters).—India said yesterday it had launched its first aerial strafing attack against Tamil rebels in northern Sri Lanka and killed 27 of them, but a journalist in the area said many of the dead were civilians.

An official government spokesman said all who died were Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)

rebels, killed when helicopters strafed their Chavakachcheri stronghold east of Jaffna.

However, a journalist working for the Calcutta-based *Telegraph* newspaper reported at least 20 civilians were killed when the gunships poured rocket and machine gun fire into the town's central market, bus station and nearby houses. The re-

porter, Sumir Lal, said when he reached the town on the edge of Jaffna lagoon he found part of the market ablaze and counted 15 dead among the ruins. There were more dead in the local hospital.

Survivors scattered for cover as two gunships returned to the attack, he wrote in a dispatch from Jaffna, and by Wednesday evening hundreds were fleeing Chavakachcheri.

The official spokesman declined to comment on any civilian casualties but said the aerial assault was launched after Indian forces confirmed that an isolated building and nearby petrol station in the town were being used as LTTE headquarters.

## Malay police move to defuse racial tension

KUALA LUMPUR (Reuters).—Malaysian police detained 11 people yesterday, bringing to 74 the number held in a massive crackdown officials say is aimed at defusing racial tension between Malays and ethnic Chinese.

Most opposition groups stayed silent as police conducting the South-east Asian country's biggest security operation for a decade arrested the 11, who include two members of parliament, under a law allowing detention without trial.

Sixty-three were detained on Tuesday and Wednesday as the country moved to prevent a recurrence of bloody riots in which hundreds were killed in 1969.

"This spate of arrests is still going on. Someone might be picked up just because he speaks up now," said one leader of a social action group who refused to be identified. "We prefer to make collective statements without having any individual named."

A police statement listed the names of the 11 arrested under the internal security act and said two were members of parliament.

Police say the activities of the detainees, who come from all walks of life and races, have threatened the multi-racial nation's security. Malays form just over half of Malaysia's 16 million people, ethnic Chinese one third, and ethnic Indians and others make up the rest.

Non-Malays say they are discriminated against in jobs and education. They and the Chinese have been at odds over an education ministry plan to appoint teachers who cannot speak Mandarin to administrative positions in Chinese schools.

Iranians ask for asylum SHANNON, Ireland (Reuters).—Sixteen Iranians asked for political asylum in Ireland yesterday after leaving a Moscow-bound airliner at Shannon airport, officials said.

The three men, five women, and eight children, who arrived on a flight from Cuba, spoke poor English but were able to explain to immigration officials that they refused to fly on to Moscow.

## Ship's treasure salvaged

BEIJING (AP).—Gold, silver and priceless artifacts have been salvaged from the wreck of a ship that sank at least 700 years ago off the south coast of China, an official report said yesterday.

The shipwreck was discovered by Chinese and British explorers in the South China Sea, the English-language *China Daily* said.

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## Chinese worried about Deng's desire to retire

BEIJING (AP).—A front-page column in an official newspaper yesterday acknowledged widespread apprehension over Deng Xiaoping's desire to retire, but it said delegates to the Communist Party Congress reluctantly support his call for new leadership.

Whether the congress, which meets through Sunday, will allow Deng to retire from some posts has become a central issue of the party's 13th congress meeting in Beijing. Several leading congress delegates indicated Wednesday that

Deng's desire to retire was meeting with resistance, possibly reflecting doubts about the future of China's reform policies without his leadership.

"I personally hope that Deng Xiaoping will continue to hold his position in the political bureau, because he has made a great contribution to our country," said Fudan University president and congress delegate Xie Xide at a news conference yesterday.

"However," he continued, "I fully respect his desire [to retire],

and I think by taking the lead to retire from the leading positions, he will contribute a lot to the rejuvenation of the leadership of our party."

Deng, 83, has pioneered market-oriented reforms and an open-door policy to the outside world to modernize the country after the economic chaos of the extreme leftist cultural revolution of 1966-76.

The average income in China has doubled under his reforms, which dismantled communes, encouraged private enterprise and decentralized the economy.

## Taipei expanding ties with Peking, rest of Communist world

TAIPEI (Reuters).—After easing a 38-year ban on travel to China, anti-Communist Taiwan has announced an opening for other ties to the rest of the Communist world.

Taiwan will consider requests from Communist countries to send sports teams, cultural and official delegations to the island, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said yesterday. Taiwan groups are free to return the visits.

"That's what our people want," the spokesman said.

The new policy excludes China, with which Taipei is still technically at war, and any country regarded as hostile to the Chinese Nationalist Government, he said.

Taipei bowed to public pressure this month and announced that its people could visit relatives in China for the first time since 1949, when the Nationalists fled to the island after being toppled from power in Peking. Tourism was ruled out along with direct trade with the mainland. Journalists, civil servants

and those currently serving as soldiers will not be allowed to go.

Taiwan baseball teams regularly compete in Cuba and a women's basketball team visited Moscow last year. But no team from a Communist country has been to Taiwan.

Taiwan regards itself as a bastion of freedom standing against "communist tyranny" in Peking and elsewhere. President Chiang Ching-kuo was educated in Moscow in the Stalinist era but later turned his back on communism.

Nevertheless, the diplomatically isolated island maintains a pragmatic approach to trade and has direct business links with all Communist countries except China, the Soviet Union, Cuba, Albania and Romania.

Direct trade with Eastern Europe jumped 87.5 per cent, to about \$150 million, in the first nine months of this year compared with a year earlier. Total trade this year is expected to top \$200 million.

## TV show on Titanic relics rapped

NEW YORK (Reuters).—The opening of a suitcase and a safe recovered from the sunken ocean liner Titanic was shown on television stations across the U.S. but several historians and experts on the ill-fated ship condemned the show as a disgrace to the disaster.

The leather valise and the puzzle's safe were two of 900 objects recovered by a French salvage operation this summer from the ship which lies 4,150 feet under the ocean surface. The luxury liner, which was thought to be unsinkable, went down on its maiden voyage, on April 15 1912, after hitting a small iceberg off Newfoundland.

"Return to the Titanic," produced by a Hollywood entertainment firm and broadcast from the Centre for Science and Industry in Paris, was monitored in New York. U.S. television actor Telly Savalas, president of the show as attendees wearing plastic gloves lifted soggy blackened bank notes, slimy jewelry, rings and coins from the valise. Among the finds was a gold

pendant with the inscription: "May this be your lucky star."

The objects were collected in plastic trays and given to a panel identified by Savalas as international experts on coins, jewels and currency.

It was produced by the Hollywood film Westgate entertainment which 18 months ago broadcast a live opening of a secret vault reportedly constructed by legendary Chicago mobster Al Capone. The vault was empty.

The American scientist who located the ship, and other established U.S. Titanic experts were quick to register their disapproval of the broadcast.

"History has not been well-served, nor have the memories of 1,523 who perished, nor have the lives of the 25 living survivors, nor relatives who loved one's graves," said Charlie Haas, an officer of the Titanic Historical Society.

Dr Robert Ballard, who fulfilled a 12-year dream when he discovered the wreck in September 1985 with the help of French salvage experts said: "I had hoped the final chapter on the Titanic would be better than this. Perhaps they'll leave it alone now. Let's hope they'll let it rest in peace."

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**Mr. Mendel Kaplan**

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## Israeli lawyer visits Amman

## Jordan plays role in High Court case on Temple Mount

By JOEL GREENBERG

Jerusalem Post Reporter

An Israeli lawyer has met Jordanian ministers and attorneys in Amman to discuss a case that Jordan is indirectly contesting in the High Court of Justice. The unprecedented case concerns Israel's jurisdiction over the Moslem holy places on the Temple Mount.

This week the court held its third hearing on the case, which is reported to have attracted some attention in the Arab world.

Jamal Abu-Toameh, an Israeli Arab lawyer representing the Islamic Wakf (Religious Trust) in East Jerusalem, was invited to Amman to coordinate a response to a High Court application by the Temple Mount Faithful. The group, which wants increased Israeli control of the Mount, charges that the Wakf is carrying out illegal construction and destroying Jewish archaeological remains in the area. It demands that the authorities enforce Israeli laws which govern planning, construction, and preservation of archaeological sites.

The application was submitted in October 1986 against the police, the Jerusalem Municipality, and the Education Ministry's antiquities department. The Wakf, which administers the mosques and Islamic institutions on the Mount, was added as a respondent in June of this year.

Early this month, Abu-Toameh, accompanied by a local Wakf representative, crossed into Jordan over the Allenby Bridge after obtaining a permit from the Israeli Interior Ministry. He did not take his passport, and deposited his Israeli ID card at the bridge terminal. Jordanian border officials, who were alerted in advance of his arrival, confirmed his identity by checking the Interior Ministry permit. A chauffeur of Jordan's Wakf Ministry whisked him to Amman.

Abu-Toameh met with a team of top Jordanian attorneys to formulate arguments on the case, and also

spoke with Jordan's Minister of Wakf (who oversees Wakf affairs in Jerusalem), the Minister of Occupied Lands Affairs and the Interior Minister. In between meetings, he was treated to excursions and tours.

The decision to submit the Wakf's response to the application was taken after some debate. Opponents of the idea argued that the Wakf would not get a fair hearing in the Israeli courts, and that responding in the High Court would imply recognition of Israeli sovereignty over East Jerusalem. Supporters argued that not responding would indicate lack of resolve, and could weaken the Wakf's status.

In his remarks before the High Court on Wednesday, Abu-Toameh said that the court has no authority to hear the Temple Mount Faithful application because East Jerusalem was annexed to Israel in violation of international law. Since East Jerusalem and the Temple Mount are occupied territory and legally under Jordanian sovereignty, they cannot be subject to Israeli building and planning laws, he said.

Abu-Toameh also argued that the court was not competent to judge the case because it involved broader political and religious questions relating to the holy sites.

A lawyer for the Temple Mount Faithful presented aerial photos of the mount which, he said, showed construction by the Wakf since 1967 in defiance of Israeli laws and sovereignty.

The court turned down his request for an interim injunction banning further construction by the Wakf on the Temple Mount.

Instead, it instructed Attorney-General Yosef Harish to submit guidelines for application of Israeli planning, construction and archaeological laws on the Temple Mount.

Abu-Toameh said that, contrary to the concerns expressed, the court headed by Justice Aharon Barak, had given him a fair and full hearing.

## Mount Zion Awards given for urging peaceful ties

By HAIM SHAPIRO

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Gunshots are louder than words, and sometimes the uproar of strife drowns out the still small voice calling for peace. But this week, at Jerusalem's Dormition Abbey, at least two of those who strive for understanding received some recognition for their work.

The two were Sister Rose Therese Sant of the Sisters of Zion in Jerusalem and the author, Dr. Mahmoud Abassi, of Haifa, who both received the first Mount Zion Award for furthering understanding. The award, which is to be given every two years, is granted by the Mt. Zion Foundation.

Among the organizations involved in choosing the winners were the Roman Catholic German Association for the Holy Land, located in Cologne, the International Council of Christians and Jews and the Hebrew University's Martin Buber Institute for Adult Education.

Sister Rose Therese Sant, who holds an MA in the History of the Jewish People from the Hebrew University, was cited this week for her part in the establishment and running of the Buber Institute's ulpan, set up in her order's Ecce

Homo Convent in the Old City of Jerusalem immediately after the Six-Day War. The ulpan, which has since moved to Mt. Scopus, is dedicated to teaching Arabic to Israelis and Hebrew to Arabs.

She is said to have "patiently and consistently encouraged and counseled the students, and quietly but cheerfully fostered inter-group encounters on an informal basis within the ulpan setting."

Abassi was cited as having labored for more than three decades to further Arab-Jewish understanding and the cause of peace in the Middle East and as a prime initiator of encounters between Jewish and Arab writers in Israel. A co-editor of the bilingual Hebrew-Arabic journal *Mifgash*, he has translated over 30 Hebrew books into Arabic.

"He has travelled widely, lectured extensively, and met consistently with writers, intellectuals and politicians in an effort to foster the cause of a just solution in the Middle East," the citation said.

The award-giving was conducted in Hebrew, Arabic, English and German and was followed by a reception which was both kosher and alcohol-free, in deference to both Jews and Moslems.

## Haifa U. asks Evron not to leave

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The board of governors of Haifa University has appealed to Ephraim Evron to reconsider his decision not to stand for re-election when his four-year term as university president expires next May. They

made the plea at the final session of their annual meeting here.

The board approved a budget of NIS 41 million for the current academic year, compared to NIS 38m. the previous year when the university ended with a deficit of only NIS 500,000.



President and Mrs. Herzog help Vladimir Slepak and his wife Masha cut his 60th birthday cake yesterday. (Isaac Harari)

## Slepak celebrates 60th birthday with party given by Herzogs

By JUDY SIEGEL

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Jews who used to meet in synagogues and small flats in Moscow, Leningrad and Tbilisi gathered yesterday at Beit Hanassi in Jerusalem to help Vladimir Slepak, who arrived here this week after 17 years of refusal, celebrate his 60th birthday.

"It will be a national holiday when the last refusenik, the last Prisoner of Zion, the last Jew from any country who has been prevented from coming here finally arrives in Israel," President Herzog told them.

The longtime Soviet Jewish activists-turned-Israelis who were present included Yosef Mendelovich (who arrived six years ago, married and has three children); newly arrived Yuli Edelstein and Jessica Kazakov. Natan Sharansky was in the U.S. for a speaking tour, and Ida Nudel was absent without explanation.

Slepak was joined at the party by his wife Masha and their son Alexander who flew here from Philadelphia, where he is a medical student,

to meet his parents. His brother Leonid remained in the U.S.

"I am just a simple Jew; I never dreamed of being so warmly received and marking my birthday in Beit Hanassi," said Slepak in Russian, explaining that his Hebrew was "not yet good enough." He added that the struggle to free Soviet Jews must continue, even though some of the more famous refuseniks have been released.

After a number of cutoffs, Beit Hanassi finally succeeded in making a phone connection with Dr. Alexander Lerner, a longtime refusenik and contemporary of Slepak who has so far received no exit visa. Dr. Sonia Lerner, his daughter, was at Beit Hanassi to tell him about Slepak's party and to wish he was among the celebrants. President Herzog told Lerner that he was eagerly awaiting the day that he, too, would come to Jerusalem.

The president presented Slepak with a Russian-language copy of one of his books, and Aura Herzog gave him an etrog box as a birthday gift.

## Seat-belts required on city streets

## 200,000 cars expected to be checked in annual 'Prepare for Winter' drive

By JONATHAN KARP

For The Jerusalem Post

TEL AVIV. — Drivers have two reasons to be wary — or grateful — these days: The police are randomly stopping cars to check if they are fit for driving on winter roads and, starting Sunday, use of seat-belts will be required on city as well as inter-urban roads.

The Transport Ministry, police, National Council for the Prevention of Accidents and Israel Garage Association this week opened the annual "Prepare your car for winter" campaign. From now until 11 December, the police will set up roadside inspection sites to check cars' brakes, tires, steering systems and lights. Any vehicle found to be faulty must be repaired within 48 hours. Shraga Ben-Ari, of the police traffic department, said at a press conference.

To encourage drivers not to wait until they are pulled over, the chairman of the garage association, Arye Matos, announced that garages belonging to his association are offering mechanical check-ups for just NIS 3 and electrical check-ups for NIS 2. Tire inspections will be free for the duration of the campaign, he added.

Matos estimated that 200,000 cars would be inspected during the campaign, up from 125,000 last year.

Welcoming the new seat-belt regulation, Eitan Ben-Yehoshua, head of the Transport Ministry's Road Safety Administration, estimated that their use in cities would reduce road accident deaths by about 15 per year; serious injuries by 100 and light injuries by 500-600 a year.

After opposing the idea for some years, the ministry last month agreed to support a six-month test period. Ben-Yehoshua dismissed opponents' arguments that wearing seat belts would hamper one's ability to escape from a burning car after an accident, saying the chances of getting trapped were one in a million.

He cited a poll taken last year, in which 70 per cent of the drivers questioned felt that seat belts would be effective in cities and only seven per cent said that the safety device would get in the way or be uncomfortable.

Among those opposed to the new measure are taxi drivers. Many of them said seat belts could endanger their personal safety.

"I'm scared that if someone sitting in the back seat tries to attack me, I'll be trapped. I won't be able to defend myself," said Gidon Malayan, who works for Sheikha Taxi in Tel Aviv.

Avi Levy, who was attacked one night by a passenger in Jaffa, said: "Anyone who wanted to steal from me would have an advantage."

However none of the drivers questioned said they would ignore the new regulation, except perhaps when driving at night in bad neighbourhoods.

Violators will face the same fines presently imposed on the inter-urban highways: NIS 62 for an unbuckled driver. If neither person in the front seat is wearing his seat belt, the driver will pay NIS 124 and the passenger NIS 62.

## Aliya chief rejects Katz Report curtailing services to new olim

By CHARLES HOFFMAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The head of the Jewish Agency Aliya Department, Haim Aron, yesterday rejected the main recommendation of the Katz Report to transfer most immigrant absorption services from the agency to the government.

Aron said in an interview that it is not true, as the report asserted, that there are "blurred lines of responsibility and authority" between the government and the agency. He stressed that the agency is responsible only for the immigrants in absorption centres, and that all other services are the government's responsibility.

The report on the Aliya Department

was prepared by the Centre for Social Policy Studies in Israel, headed by former minister of labour and social affairs Israel Katz.

The report said that government should have the responsibility for providing basic services for immigrants, and that the agency could play a supplementary role as a "non-profit organization."

The agency board of governors voted on Wednesday to set up a committee to examine how the report should be implemented. The committee is to report to the next board meeting in February. Aron proposed that the department's structure be reorganized as recommended in the report and that another committee be set up to exam-

ine the entire absorption system, including the government's role.

Aron said he could not understand why it would be better to transfer absorption centres to the government. "The report had no complaints about the centres themselves. Why would immigrants be treated any better by the government?"

"The main problem is permanent housing, which is the government's responsibility. That's why the absorption centres have been closed. The government caused the problem, so why should everything be turned over to it?"

Aron said that report's recommendation also undermines the "essence of the agency."

## Publicity-seeking MKs deluge Knesset with bills

By DVORAH GETZLER

Post Knesset Reporter

The national unity government started its last year in office with a spate of private members' bills clamouring for the attention of the 11th Knesset, and, by no means coincidentally, for the attention of the electorate.

For one of the adverse effects of the present wall-to-wall coalition of left and right is that it blurs distinctions. While the Likud and the Alignment, religious and secular, may grow and snap at each other in debate, when it comes to voting the whip is on, and the only dissenting voices are the few in the opposition proper.

So, to attract publicity, in the hope of achieving realistic places on their parties' list of candidates, back benchers submit private members' bills, often geared to special interest groups. That the bill may never get further than a preliminary reading is of little importance.

An amendment to the Basic Law: The Knesset, proposed by the Likud's David Magen is a case in point. Magen, one of Ariel Sharon's supporters, is sensitive to his populist electorate, and cultivates an image of being a tough proponent of proper government. He would have the Knesset crack the whip over members. The public, he says, is scandalized by the poor attendance of MKs in the chamber. He would insist that no debate start and no vote be taken, until at least 30 members are present. It is very unlikely that this bill will advance beyond its preliminary reading; and if it does, it will do so by far less than Magen's required 30 votes. But that doesn't matter. He

will have presented himself as he wishes to be seen.

The same applies to the bill to impose Israeli law in the administered territories, introduced by his colleague Dov Shilansky.

Shilansky, one of the more extreme Greater Israel MKs, is well aware that the Likud and the Tehiya have a growing symbiotic relationship and that, come the next Knesset, the two may well find themselves formally allied. His bill, which he knows has no chance at all, puts his credentials on record, establishes him as one who fights openly, bravely against all odds, for his principles.

Tehiya's Gula Cohen, too, is noted for bills which make a point, but have no chance of getting passed. Like other secular figures in Tehiya, she has long insisted that Orthodox women ought to serve in the armed forces. Her secular followers are angered by religious women's avoidance of service. However Tehiya has a growing religious constituency, which is strongly represented in the party's governing bodies. So Cohen's bill tries to satisfy both sides. It would make service compulsory, but would make special provisions so that the religious women would not serve away from home or be absent from the home. The bill is, almost certainly, another lost cause. But again, it is the gesture that counts. action into a so far somnolent session.

Mapam, too, perhaps even more than any other party, must court its electorate, since it is widely thought to have lost its independent electoral base in the years when it was allied to the Labour Alignment. Two private members bills sponsored by all six of its members make

a bid for left-wing and secular votes.

One seeks to overturn the law passed by the current Knesset forbidding talks with PLO-associated partners, while the other would break the Orthodox monopoly of the rabbinical courts. Given the present constellation of power in the Knesset, neither bill has the slightest chance of success. But both will come before the House in a hot year, and both will engender a heated debate in which the lines will be clearly drawn for the entire electorate to see.

The Citizens Rights Movement has a bill which focuses on an issue dear to the hearts of its members, but which does so more in despair than in hope. Grinding its way through the Law Committee is the thorny issue of a Basic Law: Civil Rights. It is one of the last two Basic Laws awaiting legislation and the 40th anniversary of the state would seem an appropriate time for its passage.

The bill has been held up for 40 years by a combination of factors: the unwillingness of the early Mapai governments to accept any checks on their authority; the special security needs of the state; and the strong, if widely resented, hold of the rabbinical authorities, buttressed by the dependence of successive governments on the religious parties.

Most informed observers agree that its chances of actually becoming law this year are better than ever before. But the question remains: to what extent will it be eroded to a shadow of its intent? Will the state end up with a law that is more declarative than substantive?

This is the fear of the CRM, to point out the

dangers and have them discussed not in committee, but on the floor of the House, the parties' five MKs have put forward their own Basic Law: The Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel.

In the explanatory notes that customarily accompany bills, the CRM members point out that the state still has no constitution, and the basic rights of the individual are still not anchored in law and are still vulnerable to laws that the Knesset may legislate, or regulations that other bodies may promulgate.

Since the CRM believes the government's Basic Law on civil rights stands little chance of coming to real fruition, MKs Shulamit Aloni, Yossi Sarid, Ran Cohen, Dedi Zucker and Mordechai Virshupsky propose instead that the Declaration of Independence of 1948 become a civil rights charter, promising full equality of rights and obligations to all Israeli citizens, regardless of religion, sex or race.

Although freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture have been upheld by the High Court, they have no formal basis in law and thus do not obligate the authorities, they say.

The party's move may or may not gild the Law Committee to more forceful action, but it should focus the House's and the public's attention on the key questions it raises.

However key questions, to judge from the first two weeks of the Knesset are not moment what the government wants at the moment. The back-benchers, in pushing their private bills, may also succeed in introducing some action into a so far somnolent session.

## The feasting began 10 years ago

THE NIGHTLY movable feast shifts around like the sand dunes on which the city was built. Openings here, affairs there, the same crowd attends all.

They've been at it for exactly 10 years this week.

They are people wearing masks, something which the nostalgic says is a relatively new phenomenon in this relatively new city.

The masks show boredom and curiosity, either sexual or commercial. Practised laughter responds to carefully practised routines. Conversations begun at an opening three nights ago resume at the opening tonight. Usually the conversations are flirtations, whether sexual or commercial. Those are the kind of masks these people wear.

There are, of course, other people. The new owner's family, sitting in a corner and elbowing each other to point out a face familiar from the media, or the invisible workers from invisible places working in what is supposed to be the invisible kitchen, producing food that is usually also invisible to the tastebud.

There is, after all, no real celebrityhood in this city. No limousines pull up in front of doors opened by doormen who can keep out those who will never ride in a limousine.

Here, the closest thing to a limousine is a new BMW sedan originally designed without the chrome that the local purchaser pays extra to install, making the car look like the gold signet rings and chains that symbolize what happened exactly 10 years ago.

Ten years ago is when the whole business of night life and pubs and goose liver at four in the morning in Hatikva began. It's a big business nowadays, with a successful joint

able to net receipts of upwards of NIS 50,000 a month.

Before 1977, it was a much smaller business and a much smaller circle moved in short zigs and zags up and down between Frederika's and Rafi's and Mandy's, and that was about it. Ten years ago, Yirmiyahu Street consisted of one movie theatre, one taxi drivers' all-night cafe and cigarette stand, and one Hungarian-language lending library.



BUT THEN, 10 years ago this week, a spectacle-frame manufacturer turned finance minister went on television and announced that this country would be the Switzerland of the Middle East. He said anyone could buy dollars, no questions asked. It was called in Hebrew *ha'mahapach*, which means something between "revolution" and "topsy-turvy." For a lot of people, it meant "binge."

The Hungarian-language lending library turned into a bar named after the Austro-Hungarian journalist from Vienna. It was not the only faded curtain sidewalk shop in the city to bloom into a pre-dawn leisure spot.

The spectacle-frame manufacturer, who had completed high school in Poland, was the first of this country's finance ministers who believed his job was to make things good for the people. That's what the prime minister promised, because the prime minister at the time said there

were 47,000 people living seven to a room.

Nowadays, there are still some 40,000 people living in what the jargon calls the "bottom percentiles." There probably will always be about 40,000 such people in this country, just as there are such people everywhere.

Tricky case, what appears to people from places like Afeka, Dimona or Jerusalem to be a nightly Tel Avivian bacchanalia, began 10 years ago.

That's when people started wearing ties and jackets and suddenly it wasn't considered elitist to wear a fur stole to the Philharmonic, which is another of the places where people wear masks. Suddenly, 10 years ago this week, gambling came off the Bar Yam porches and into the bourse.

Ten years ago, the feasting began. The finance minister ended up blinking a lot behind the thick, polished glass of his spectacles, which suddenly became the fashionable

kind of spectacle for all the members of the government who needed them.

He was a master at wearing masks, though not the sexual kind. He once was heard saying to an interviewer, "I always tell the truth, even when I'm not telling the truth."

He eventually had to resign, of course, but the feasting continued, until it became practised, routine, traditional, and all the other synonyms for something completely normal.

BUT, OF COURSE, there's nothing normal in a country in abnormal circumstances.

How normal can things be when the man who regularly opens a new avant garde nightclub catering to the fashionable, whether hip, bohemian, punk, new wave, neo-new wave, or just plain rich — whether with new or old money — is a former police detective? Or the most fashionable saloon in town is a place full

of drunken ex-spies, drunken ex-generals and drunken leftist poets all competing to be heard over the chanson singing of a drunken ex-French resistance fighter who is now also an ex-waiter and whose back-up band is made up of drunken former Russians?

There are those who are very worried that the events on the real bourses of the world, as opposed to the toy shop on Ahad Ha'am, will turn into a tail spin.

But oldtimers say that when the world plunged into a recession in 1929, the brand-new city of Tel Aviv continued jumping.

Buildings rose, art was made and so were quite a few fortunes, mostly by people who had enough faith in the future to buy up land outside what was then Tel Aviv, which barely consisted of the area now in the shade of the Kol-Bo Shalom. It's been a long time since anyone in this city other than toddlers have been impressed by the Kol-BB's escalators.



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At 8:30 p.m., Saturday, October 31, 1987, the Second Channel TV will screen a film on Project "Otzma." This film depicts American youngsters who come to Israel for "Shinat Sherut."



ON THE MORNING after the Lavi was cancelled, a highly respected and very senior military analyst in Washington rushed out to see his broker. Instead of doing the predictable — selling out his shares in one of Israel's major electronic companies heavily involved in the Lavi programme — he bought every share in the company he could get his hands on. "Now they're free to do what they're best at doing," he said, "they're going to make a fortune."

The company, like many others, had shelved some futuristic development projects that were in the pipeline when it was awarded Lavi work in the early 1980s. The Lavi had become the main priority of the defence establishment; all resource and development capital was being channelled to the project; and almost all the company's technical and production manpower had been diverted to making electronic and avionics systems for the aircraft.

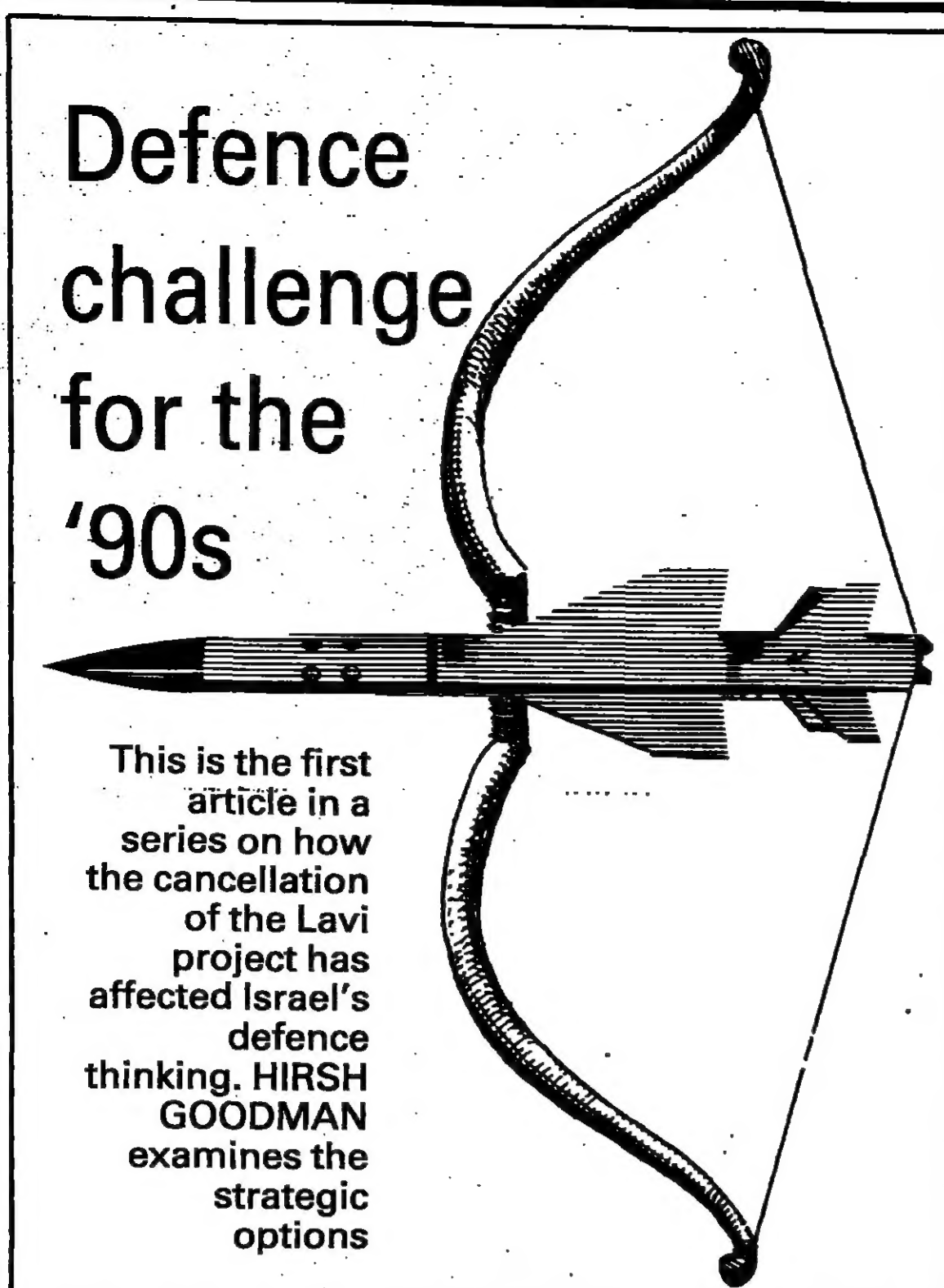
It was the analyst's feeling that the company, by concentrating solely on the Lavi, was sacrificing its ability to compete in the future marketplace, that the Lavi's technologies, while undeniably extremely advanced, were "yesterday's technologies", and not those that would continue to give Israel a leading edge in weapons development.

THAT VIGNETTE illustrates just how rapidly new technologies are changing in respect of their military applications, and just how little the implications of this are appreciated. A few short months before, the Lavi had been acclaimed, even by its most vociferous critics, as possessing some of the most sophisticated systems known to man. But here was a leading military expert calling the plane an obstacle in the path of Israeli military and industrial advancement, and running out to buy shares to prove it.

The expert in question has always been ahead of his time. As long as two years ago he was telling military planners that in future wars aircraft, be they Lavis or whatever, will not be able to perform their traditional tasks. That effective anti-aircraft defences have made the concept of sending multi-million dollar platforms, flown by invaluable human resources, against enemy ground targets uneconomic; and that developing technologies have now made it possible to achieve from the ground what until now could only be achieved from the air.

ISRAELI MILITARY planners are now doing some of the most profound thinking they have ever done in response to the challenges of the future. The Lavi has been a traumatic lesson — not unlike, though very different from, the trauma of the Yom Kippur War.

Here, the shock was not surprise and a price paid in blood. It was that Israel — through countless evalua-



## Defence challenge for the '90s

This is the first article in a series on how the cancellation of the Lavi project has affected Israel's defence thinking. HIRSH GOODMAN examines the strategic options

tions and re-evaluations, despite constant checking and re-checking by dozens of different teams and through several governments — had remained committed to a project that was ultimately discovered to be wrong for Israel from almost every point of view.

This, obviously, cannot be allowed to happen again: resources are too scarce, the threat too great and the consequences too dire.

This is not the time for recriminations about the Lavi's demise, or the justice or injustice of the decision, but rather the time to examine how Israel can go about picking up the pieces in the most effective way possible.

To do this, one has first to understand why the Lavi was cancelled.

lest the same mistake — in a different form — be made again.

It was not killed only out of economic considerations, as many believe, or even as a result of the unrelenting pressure placed on Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin by the Americans to scrap it. The Lavi was shelved primarily because military thinking in Israel, especially under the stewardship of the incumbent CGS, Dan Shomron, has taken an entirely different view of how future wars — if they occur — will be fought.

The Lavi fell victim to the realization that, in the crucial opening stages of any future conflict, the Israeli air force (especially if it is reduced in size by roughly one third, as current planning calls for), will be

totally pre-occupied with taking out enemy ground-to-ground and ground-to-air targets, and thus unable to provide close support for Israeli ground forces, even if it possessed the Lavi.

The whole rationale of a close ground-support aircraft therefore fell away, making the Lavi obsolete from a doctrinal point of view before it ever left the ground. Israel, it became apparent, was investing all its resources in a weapon it would probably not be able to capitalize on if deterrence failed and war broke out.

This occurred at about the same time as new technologies began to emerge that are revolutionizing weapons aid, in a very profound way, the manner in which future

Wars will be fought. Some of these weapons, such as Kamikazi drones, designated and precision-guided munitions, attack helicopters armed with smart ordnance, can all achieve what the Lavi was intended to achieve from great distances and with great accuracy. They are also cheaper, do not put at risk valuable crews, and negate many of the advantages of the enemy's anti-aircraft defences.

But while exciting (if one can use the word when discussing weapons), these technologies are in their infancy, and not without their problems. They, by themselves, will not be able to replace the conventional means of war — tanks, infantry, artillery, aircraft and naval vessels — and can only be supplementary to them.

Their development costs are enormous, and the degree of expertise needed in esoteric fields to produce them, highly specialized. What exactly they will be able to do and just how effective they will be, remains an open question, as does the fundamental one of how they can be blended into Israeli doctrine and moulded to cater to Israel's specific and unique defence needs.

THE PRESSURES on Israel's political echelons to find speedy alternative military projects for those defence industries affected by the Lavi cancellation are intense. In consequence, there is a danger that, in their haste, today's decision-makers may embark on projects that will be just as out of tune with tomorrow's needs as the Lavi could have been.

There are indications that this may already be happening, specifically with regard to a comprehensive anti-tactical ballistic missile system (ATBM) in which the Americans have expressed an interest, that the IDF is extremely hesitant about embarking upon.

Initial ATBM development costs of around \$1.2, although to be carried at least in equal part by the Americans, would be as potentially crippling as those of the Lavi, and from an operational point of view, less than ideal for the challenges of the future.

The system is an entirely reactive one, rather than being an integral part of Israel's offensive strategy, and thus has little deterrent value in the Middle East context. At best, it could be part of an overall mix of responses that will compose the IDF's future order of battle, but not the main answer to the growing missile threat that faces this country.

WHEN EXAMINING the future battlefield and its implications, a sub-committee of the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee this summer came to several basic conclusions.

Even though its report was written before the cancellation of the Lavi, the writers, headed by Dan Meridor, pointed out that despite the extremely high proportion of the budget allocated to defence, there was virtually no coordinated strategic thinking that allowed Israel to

maximize its assets efficiently. There was no clear concept of what the future battlefield would actually be, or how Israel should develop its responses.

The committee found that decision-makers had no mechanism at their disposal for keeping themselves cognizant of intelligence estimates, or any body capable of offering an independent analysis of these estimates.

Even the country's senior ministers, it was found, would probably have to make instantaneous critical decisions, that could have a profound impact on the course of war and Israel's future, without ever having been briefed in an organized and consistent manner on the range of options they might face.

The report was not complimentary about the inter-relationship between Israel's security needs and Israel's defence industries, and noted that the army, having been subjected to several years of spontaneous, unplanned, budget cuts, had been forced to make haphazard decisions based on momentary expediency, rather than long-range planning imperatives.

JUST HOW disorganized Israel's approach to defence developments was, was illustrated in the summer when two teams, one from the Israel Aircraft Industries, the other from Raphael, the Weapons Development Authority, arrived in the U.S. to demonstrate a system that the U.S. army was interested in.

Instead of coming with one, agreed upon, comprehensive system to show the assembled generals, the Israeli delegations brought two competing, albeit different, systems.

The IAI was offering a comprehensive, all encompassing approach, based on several sub-systems. The Raphael proposal was much more modest and operationally limited, instead of making a joint pitch, salesmen from IAI and Raphael invested most of their energies in explaining why their system was better than the other. The net result: the Americans called off the deal and said they needed time to re-assess.

The incident raises many questions, the main one being why two individual, fully government-owned, weapons makers were both spending scarce research and development funds on developing competing systems.

Why had not the Defence Ministry, fully cognizant of these developments, appropriated work to both organizations in a way that best capitalized on their relative strengths? Why had Israel not developed a clear concept of what it wanted in terms of this system before resources were assigned to development?

NOW THAT THE Lavi has been cancelled, the time has come to establish order in what was obviously a very disorganized structure. This cannot be done, however, without fully defining and understanding the

threat environment that will exist in this region towards the end of the century; what weapons will be at the disposal of Israel's potential protagonists; and what these weapons mean in terms of how future wars will be fought.

It is essential to know what proportion of the nation's resources can be assigned to future military development, and how these resources can be best appropriated. What will the doctrinal requirements of the future battlefield be, and what weapons will best serve those requirements?

Decisions will have to be made about which weapons should be purchased abroad and which made here, those decisions being a function of economic viability, industrial capability and operational requirements.

The first signs that this is beginning to take place are becoming apparent. Deputy Chief of Staff Ehud Barak is reported to be coordinating the IDF's long-range development effort, based on a multi-layered analysis of almost every conceivable aspect of Israel's security problems towards the year 2000.

In the military industries, the IAI has been told to fire 3,000 workers by the end of March, and to put order into its house for a more rational future. The electronic and other companies affected by the Lavi cancellation have been told to pull off their shelves projects that were set aside when all efforts were concentrated on the Lavi, and rework and resubmit some of them.

At the government level, the situation is now under constant review by a senior ministerial body representing all the main areas of the administration, and clear guidelines have been established as to what proportion of the GNP the military will have at its disposal in coming years.

More importantly, a decision has been made to totally re-examine the structure of the defence industries with a view to ending duplication of effort and ensuring that products being produced have an export potential before they are embarked upon, as has happened so often in the past.

PREPARING FOR the future, however, no matter how many committees are established, is not going to be a simple matter. The issues are complex and politically loaded. The weapons IAI acquires now will virtually dictate the actions of future leaders — whether they have to preempt in a future war, or whether they will be able to fight it with minimal casualties.

Their decisions will also affect the future economic leadership of the country, given the close inter-relationship between industrial and military efforts in Israel. Any decisions made now will shape the infrastructure of the future.

The Lavi's cancellation has solved many problems. It has, however, created many more. What the consequences for doctrine and future weapons developments will be, will be discussed in future articles.

## A self-confessed 'nudnik'

Charles Hoffman interviews Mendel Kaplan, new chairman of the Jewish Agency's board of governors

THE CHAIRMAN of the board of governors of the Jewish Agency has always been chosen among the "non-Zionist" philanthropists from the Diaspora. While the non-Zionist label no longer fits most of the donors who support the agency, it is certainly inappropriate in the case of the new chairman, Mendel Kaplan of South Africa, who was elected this week.

"My grandmother taught me that a Zionist is a Jew who lives in Israel," Kaplan said in an interview with *The Jerusalem Post*. "We have partially fulfilled this principle by living in Jerusalem three to four months a year."

Kaplan owns a home in the Yemin Moshe area, and one of his four children lives in Israel. He has contributed to many projects in Jerusalem, and considers Mayor Teddy Kolek to be one of the "greatest influences" on his work in Jewish and Israeli affairs.

Kaplan, 51, a steel magnate and leading member of several world Jewish organizations, was a member of the Labour Zionist Hahonim movement in his youth. He studied

law and economics at the London School of Economics, and has a master's from Columbia University in New York in industrial engineering.

He shuns all party labels in Zionist affairs: "I don't believe that the parties here should insert Israeli politics into the Diaspora. I am a member of the South African Zionist Federation, but I don't belong to any particular Zionist party."

Kaplan, who was raised in an observant family and is a practising Orthodox Jew, freely inserts Hebrew words and biblical images into his conversation. It seems to come naturally to him. But he stressed that he doesn't believe in imposing his religious views on anyone. This week he vowed to address the forthcoming Zionist Congress — in Hebrew.

Prior to his election this week as chairman of the board, he served as head of Keren Hayesod, one of the fund-raising arms of the agency. He is also treasurer of the World Jewish Congress.

His familiarity with the Israeli and world Jewish scene, his rootedness



Mendel Kaplan (Brian Hendler)

in Zionism, and the extensive amount of time he spends here will make Kaplan a force to be reckoned with within the encrusted corridors of the agency.

It often happens that policy decisions made during the brief periodic visits of the fund-raisers have a way of getting lost in the agency bureaucracy once they get on the plane and head for home. It has often been a trying task for the chairman of the board just to find out, months later, what the policy was supposed to be,

much less what was done about it.

This is not likely to happen with Kaplan. "Teddy says I'm a nudnik. That's my personality. I hope to be intimately involved in the operational details of the agency. I intend to come for an entire month for board of governors meetings so that I can be here both before and afterwards."

KAPLAN ALSO wants to have something to say about where the agency should be headed, 40 years after the founding of the state.

"We have two tasks before us: to make the agency more effective in its current tasks, and to review the entire agency programme so that it meets the needs of Israel today and in the 21st century. The agency has a bad image, and image is important. But the reality is more important, and that must be changed."

He wants to see the agency move into newer areas of Israel's social and economic development. "Just as the agency was an innovator in settlement 40 years ago, today it should be at the cutting edge of Israeli society. Thus, it should deal

with the development of regions such as the Negev and Galilee, and should help create the knowledge-based industries that will serve as the powerhouse of Israel."

Kaplan said he agrees with the main recommendation of the Katz Report on the agency's Aliya Department, which concluded that immigrant absorption services should be the responsibility of the government. "There is no way that absorption, which involves housing and employment, can be done effectively by anyone except the government. I hope that the board of governors eventually makes that decision."

In recent years, the fund-raisers have increased their influence over Jewish education programmes for the Diaspora carried out by the WZO, and this has antagonized some of the leaders of that body.

For Kaplan it is "essential that the Diaspora leaders be involved in the planning and monitoring of Jewish education programmes. This concerns the education of our own children. We need a mechanism in the agency for contact between those who implement the programmes

and the community leaders from abroad."

SOME PEOPLE were critical of Kaplan's nomination for the post of chairman of the board, due to his connection with South Africa which goes back to the early part of the century when his grandparents came there from Lithuania.

Kaplan asserted that "individuals should not be penalized for where they come from. I love the country of my birth — it is a beautiful land. But I have personally fought all my

life against discrimination of any kind. Racial discrimination in South Africa must come to an end, but a resolution to this problem must come from the South Africans themselves, and not from overseas intervention."

His family steel and wire business has branches in Israel, England and the U.S. Kaplan firmly rejected allegations that his firms have been involved in circumventing the trade sanctions imposed on South Africa earlier this year.

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'We don't live in this country.  
We live in the air, somewhere  
between the land and the sky.  
There is no room for us on the land.'

A Beduin from the Negev township of Lagiya.

## Doing battle with the Beduins' olive trees

Elaine Ruth Fletcher

A WAR was waged this week, a war that pitted 500 police, soldiers, and Border Police against unarmed Beduin. A war that pitted tractors, trucks and bulldozers against 2,000 olive trees and 500 dunams of agricultural land farmed by the al-Nassara clan in the Negev Beduin township of Lagiya, northeast of Beersheba.

No blood was shed. No rocks were thrown. But in Beduin eyes, it was a war against them nonetheless, an unprecedented operation in size and scope.

It had begun Tuesday night when the police swooped down on the Lagiya township, and conducted a house-to-house search of the neighbourhood where the al-Nassara clan of some 30 families lives.

"They were searching for weapons. Maybe they thought we planted mines in the olive groves," said one young Beduin wryly.

Still, on Wednesday morning the male members of the clan went to work as usual, suspecting nothing.

"At 7:30 a.m. I left Lagiya. I went to work," said Hassan al-Nassara, one member of the clan. "When I heard this was happening I came home and I see that all the police in Israel are here in Lagiya. Soldiers, tractors and buses full of more soldiers. An airplane even. Where are we—in Lebanon? They come as if to make a war."

Suleiman al-Nassara was in Arad when he heard the 9 a.m. news.

"I heard there were 4,500 soldiers, 50 jeeps. I knew it had to be here. I came in a taxi. At the junction near Lagiya the police stopped me. They closed down every donkey path to the area. A policeman took my identity card. 'We'll take care of you,'" he said.

"Don't you know, we are enemies of the state," said Hassan.

A reporter described the scene at the barricades in the next day's papers: "The Negev residents stood

with tears running down their eyes. They were helpless."

Two hours later, when the Lagiya men were finally allowed to re-enter the township, all that was left of the 40 dunams of olive groves were a few trees scattered here and there. Fields of wheat, 500 dunams, rolling over the desert hills had been ploughed under.

Seven of the clan's younger men stood near the cluster of some 15 shacks which make up the al-Nassara hamlet. Each had its own garden measured off by chicken wire. And in these individual plots, too, only a few trampled greens of tomatoes and eggplants and fruit trees remained. Everything had been uprooted.

Yunis al-Nassara, 23, surveyed the debris left from the operation—a cardboard carton here, a tree there.

"All that I had was destroyed," he said.

Most of the 2,000 olive trees, and some peach, fig and other fruit trees had been carted away by the ILA in six, large flatbed trucks. Authorities undoubtedly feared the trees would be replanted.

Each olive tree, five to seven years old and just beginning to bear fruit, represented an NIS 1,000 investment to the Beduin, and six years of toil, they said.

"When there was no water for the trees, we would sometimes go as far away as five kilometres and bring water on tractors, on horses, on donkeys," said Yunis. "We brought garbage and dung as fertilizer. We worked very hard."

AND WEDNESDAY'S events, the clan said, were only the beginning. The Beduin saw the action as an

ominous warning by the ILA that it will now destroy any Beduin agriculture enterprises now being conducted illegally on state land in the area—other than the traditional grain crops raised on tracts leased annually from the authorities.

"There are three million fruit trees in this area. It's 1,000 per cent clear what will happen to other people," said Zvarga Abdel Rahman, a relative who lives in another part of Lagiya.

Already, another 50 dunams of olive trees belonging to Lagiya residents are to be uprooted in the next couple of weeks. The al-Nassara clan is also under a government order to demolish their homes, situated far beyond the planned centre of the new Lagiya town.

The government wants all the Beduin families scattered in clusters of shacks around the area to move into the more densely-planned settlement that will begin construction in the next two months around the town's main "artery," a gravel road with a school and a tiny branch of Kupat Holim just off the highway to Kibbutz Lahav.

House lots for three neighbourhoods near the planned town are to be prepared in the coming months, and as families purchase the lots, at NIS 3,000, the government has said it will pave streets, and run water and electric lines into the new neighbourhoods so that Lagiya families can have those services for the first time.

As far as the authorities are concerned, the al-Nassara clan is farming and living illegally on state land, and they explain Wednesday's police action in those terms.

"Families took the law into their hands. They stole state land. And an order to evacuate it even went to the Supreme Court and was upheld (six months ago)," said Beersheba area police commander Haim Ben-Iyon. But the al-Nassara claim owner-

ship to the land they farm, some 700 dunams, and the elderly still recall the story of its purchase in the early part of the century.

"We are the animals' barley, and sold the wheat so we could save the money to buy the land," said one old lady.

"My father gave me the land," said the current clan leader, Darwish al-Nassara, as he sat in the Beduin guest tent or *shig*, in the early afternoon. Dozens of Beduin sheikhs and notables kept up a steady stream of traffic inside the guest tent, to debate and discuss the day's events.



Sheik Darwish al-Nassara.

But Darwish al-Nassara's claims, like other Beduin holdings, were never registered in the Tabu, the land registry that dates back to Turkish times. And in the early 1950s, the Beduin with traditional claims to the land were even evacuated from the Lagiya site. The government later moved those families to Tel Arad. Then, in 1975, the government brought them back again to Lagiya as plans got under way for a new residential settlement.

Still, Darwish al-Nassara's land claim, like so many others in the Negev, has never been settled and remains a point of conflict. The Beduin with large land claims have generally resisted government terms

that offered them only a small percentage of their original holdings, without the precious water allocations that would increase their productivity and value to a modern farmer.

WHILE MOSHAVIM and kibbutzim have turned the desert green through irrigation, the Negev Beduin have received virtually no agricultural water allocations, with the exception of water for their livestock and rain-water.

"Many of the Beduin want an agricultural moshav. But they won't give us one cubic meter of water. They won't give us agricultural land with water for a moshav," said Zvarga Abdel Rahman, one member of the al-Nassara clan.

Until Wednesday, the al-Nassara's farming operations on some 550 dunams of land they claim represented one of the largest and most persistent land claims in the Lagiya area, and a thorn in the side of the authorities.

Now it stands as an example to Beduin farming smaller tracts in the area, to move peacefully into the new planned township.

Darwish al-Nassara said government officials recently made him an offer for a land settlement: his clan of 30 families could receive 60 dunams of land in a clear title from the government including the land with the trees, and cash equal to another 240 dunams.

The clan leader also said that ILA officials had told him they would give him time to mull over the offer, and delay any uprooting of the trees until November 16. Then came the operation on Wednesday.

ILA Deputy Director Eli Babai, however, denies this. He said the ILA offered only to delay the destruction of the homes, if the Beduin uprooted the olive trees themselves this week. Babai conceded there had been negotiations in the past

over a land settlement with Darwish al-Nassara. But they said Darwish never followed up the process or put forward a land claim application to the government.

"He never put in a claim for the land to the Settlement Authority. He just tells people it belongs to him," said Babai.

In the absence of a settlement, Darwish could have leased land from the ILA, said Babai. "If he had come to us and put in an application, we would have given him land to work. But he doesn't come to us. He says he owns the land and that's it."

Now, says Babai, he will lease the ploughed dunams to other Beduin, who recognize the ILA's authority. Babai pooh-poohs the suggestion that other Beduin might refuse to work the land, because in Beduin society it still belongs to the al-Nassara.

SAYS AHMAD Darwish of his dealings with the government. "Until today we could have made a compromise (on a land settlement). Now it's a matter of honour. I will stay. I will not move. I won't agree to anything."

The only place he will move is to a place outside Israel, he declares. He voices this repeatedly before his many guests over cups of tea and coffee.

"If there is no chance, I want to go to another country. Tell Arafat. I want to go to America, Algeria, to Jordan, to Egypt—to any country that will take us. When the case was before the court the judge told me it doesn't matter where I go. What am I, an animal?"

Darwish al-Nassara comments were tinged with bitter humour and the self-composure of a man older in years. But in the corner of the guest tent, where the younger men sat, raw anger ran closer to the surface. "At one time, I was a leftist," said

one young Beduin. "I believed everyone, Jew or Arab was a human being. Now I am a rightist. I hate the Jews. I'm more to the right than Kahane," he said.

One middle-aged man came close, crouched close to this reporter, fingering his worry beads restlessly.

"I had 25 dunams, he said. 1,000 trees. Olives, dates, grapes. What will I do? I won't put it in the newspaper now. But you will write about it afterwards."

Another man leapt from his place in the back of the guest tent and stood in the middle of the circle of elders, crying out to the crowd.

"Write down that I am 33 years old. I have never been in prison. he said. "Now you will see me in prison. Every tree is a Jew."

Later that afternoon, at the nearby Tel Shoket junction, three policemen lounge around a gas station and restaurant.

"We are doing patrols until 4 p.m.," says a Beduin officer, standing alone by the patrol jeep. "If it is quiet then, we'll go home."

His fellow officers join him by the jeep. Yes, they were at Lagiya this morning, the Jewish officers say. And they had no quarrel about what happened there. The Beduin are clearly squatting on land that doesn't belong to them.

"How would you feel if I came into your house, with my wife and children and sat down on your couch?" one officer demanded. "In my opinion, personally, they can live in Tel Aviv, Beersheba. But they have to do it legally. This isn't their land."

As his two comrades speak, the Beduin officer is silent, shifting a little restlessly from foot to foot. Then he finally says, "We don't exactly know what is the argument between them and the government. We were just implementing the court order."

"Because he didn't know our needs, he changed the priorities," pressing for a kosher restaurant for Moscov and greater availability of Hebrew books.

FOR SLEPAK, the most important thing is major progress in the field of immigration, "not just in numbers, but a new law or regulation" which would be the basis of all Jewish immigration. Those who remain in the USSR should be guaranteed equal rights with other nationalities, with their own schools and the opportunity to enjoy their own literature. Whether such rights are granted, he said, depends upon pressure

from abroad, especially from the U.S., even if such pressure comes in the form of "quiet diplomacy" rather than publicly stated demands. If the pressure were strong enough, he intimated, the Soviets would give in.

As for Soviet Jews in Israel, it was a pity they were not unified. Though there were some 100,000 Soviet olim, not one was a Knesset member.

Slepek, who is to live in an absorption centre near Tel Aviv once his round of official visits is over, indicated that he "is not a politician." But who knows? Perhaps he will be the first Soviet Jew to become an MK.

## Slepek: Soviet Jewish rights depend on pressure

Haim Shapiro



(Haim Shapiro)

"IF THERE WERE good relations between the Soviet Union and Israel, it would be better for peace. It would improve the situation in the Middle East," according to Vladimir Slepek. But he stressed that consideration of Soviet Jewry had a higher priority.

The man who has been called the father of the refusenik movement exuded more than anything else an air of strength and solidity, heightened by good humour. Though he had been kept on the go in meetings with VIPs and journalists since his arrival in Israel on Monday night, the former Prisoner of Zion, who this week celebrated his 60th birthday, showed no evidence of strain.

A television technician by training, Slepek lost his job when he applied to emigrate 17 years ago, and from then on worked as a casual labourer. But that and five years of exile in Siberia have not affected his healthy shock of white hair or his deep, throaty laugh.

For an interview with *The Jerusalem Post* at the Jerusalem Laromne Hotel, where he was taken to stay on his arrival, Slepek chose to sit on the balcony, in the "wonderful air of Jerusalem." When someone commented on the beautiful weather and noted that he had picked a good time to come, Slepek laughed and said, "It wasn't me who picked the time."

On a more serious note, he evaluated the present atmosphere of glasnost, saying that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev wants to improve his country's economy. "If not, it will be a second- or third-rate power very soon, in 10 to 15 years. He wants to preserve the Soviet Union as a superpower."

To achieve this, Slepek continued, the Soviet Union needs economic credit from abroad and advanced technology, which are difficult to get without concessions in other fields, such as human rights. The Soviet leader himself is willing to undertake reforms, but there is strong opposition from the bureaucracy.

Referring to a recently-published Soviet claim that 274 Jews had not utilized their exit visas, he noted that many of the refuseniks have waited long years, during which there have been many changes in their private lives—new jobs, or new

marriages. One friend who "lives for Israel" has a daughter who is married to a Russian and will not leave his family. "There are many such examples."

Many Russian Jews want to stay in the USSR and to assimilate, but this too, he added, is not so easy. They cannot change their internal passport, in which their nationality is listed as Jewish.

SLEPAK WAS RAISED in a "good Communist" home. His father, a journalist, had actually emigrated to America in 1908, but returned to be a part of the Revolution. He speaks no Yiddish and is not observant.

He has often been described as one of the last leaders of the non-religious sector of the refusenik movement, but he discounted recent reports that only those who are religiously motivated want to leave the Soviet Union.

"The religious part of the refusenik community is not so large, only 10 to 15 per cent, but they are more active in their religious observance and their roots are closer than those of the non-religious. They are more steadfast."

He had his first feeling that all was not well for Jews in the Soviet Union during the "doctors' plot" case in 1952, but his real turning point came with the Six-Day War.

"Many Jews were stirred by this event. We were proud of our people and we understood that Jews could now be equal with other people, even in the military area. This gave us the feeling that we were happy and proud to be Jews and that we must join our people."

To apply to leave, he said, was "like a cold shower. If you had a high position, a good job, you lost everything." You also knew that your request could be rejected, even if you had no possible connection with any state secrets. Today, he added, it might be possible for someone "not in such a high position," to keep their job.

In addition, "many of your friends will no longer be your friends." This was a result of both fear and belief, "but mostly fear."

DESPITE ALL THIS, most of the Jews leaving now chose to go elsewhere than Israel. In fact, when asked upon arrival whether he would try to convince his two sons, who both live in the U.S., to come here, Slepek answered that his children were adults, who made their own decisions.

Explaining the drop-out phenomenon, he said that of those who left, some were fervent Zionists who would definitely come to Israel, while others had no feeling for Israel and would certainly not choose it as their home. The overwhelming majority, however, had no strong feelings either way.

It was this last group that was affected by the steady flow of anti-Israel propaganda from the Soviet media. "Even if they know it is lies, hearing it day after day they are brainwashed."

While Israel radio broadcasts are jammed, Soviet Jews can hear reports from the Voice of America about immigrants doing well in the U.S. "It is better to go to the U.S., where all the streets are paved with gold and everybody can become a millionaire."

As for the struggle on behalf of Soviet Jews, Slepek expressed his dissatisfaction over the recent visit of Edgar Bronfman to the USSR. The World Jewish Congress president met with the refuseniks on the last day of his visit, after he had spoken to the Soviet leaders.

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Post reporter BERNARD JOSEPHS gets behind the scenes at Channel 2

# TV midget steps in to fill the gap

CONSIDERING ITS futuristic graphics and special effects-laden theme time, you might imagine that the control desk and offices of Channel 2 resemble the flight deck of the Star Ship Enterprise.

Actually, they are more like a cross between a scruffy video shop, a cafe and a pharmacy. But then it is hardly surprising that the six people who have been charged with keeping some form of Israeli TV on the air during these days of blank screens and empty wave bands are often in need of aspirin and black coffee.

Before the Israel Broadcasting Authority (IBA) journalists walked out in a bid to boost their hard-to-live-on salaries, life at Channel 2's cramped headquarters on the third floor of a Jerusalem office block was relatively sedate. Even such a small staff found no difficulty in slotting pop videos into the airwaves for a few hours a day.

And Oren Tokaty, the Communications Ministry official who has the task of setting up the channel as a fully-fledged commercial broadcasting outfit, was able to leave the broadcasting to the broadcasters and get on with the negotiations.

Then came the strike. Suddenly, the bearded, bespectacled civil servant was catapulted out of his quiet, steady world of ministerial meetings and into the limelight as Israel's Mr. TV.

"It was the kind of thing that is worthy of a soap opera. There we

were with a small audience of around 3,000 just putting out experimental broadcasts and suddenly, overnight, we had three million viewers and the job of a national network," said one of his colleagues.

Economics Minister Gad Ya'acobi's decision to let the infant outfit display its wares on Channel 1 meant a considerable shake-up. There were no *Dynasty*-style power plays. The family atmosphere at the studio met the strain. But the pressure is most definitely on Tokaty and his team face up to their new responsibilities.

They rule the nation's airways with the minimum of equipment and broadcasting material. Their studio, owned by an outfit called Israel Commercial Television (ICTV), is also shared by the company's other clients which include such luminaries of the small screen as Cable News Network, Visnews and the National Broadcasting Corporation.

Even the broadcasting technicians who handle the video cassettes are borrowed from ICTV.

Said Tokaty: "It isn't true to say that until the minister's decision we just put out pop videos. After all, we have also been broadcasting live coverage of the Demjanjuk trial in the morning. But there is no doubt that the responsibility is much heavier and the job is harder in our new situation."

"All we have here is three technicians, myself and my secretary and

someone who handles the business side of things. Of course this limits us, although we still managed to do live coverage of Ida Nudel's arrival."

Tokaty admitted that the expansion of Channel 2 means that he and his staff are working very long hours. And, he added, if the situation continues more people will be needed.

"We just aren't built for what we are doing now. We don't have the right set up to be the country's main TV channel. I hardly have time to sleep these days and the same goes for a lot of people round here."

ALTHOUGH Channel 2 is almost totally reliant on foreign-made pop videos, old films and material previously broadcast on ITV, the civil servant said nothing could be left to chance. "We need to preview all the material and get it ready for broadcasting. We all sit down together to discuss what we will be showing in the weeks ahead. But I am very aware that the responsibility is mine. Believe me there is a lot more to this than just putting the cassettes into the machines and sitting back."

An especially careful eye is kept on the shows that are put out early in the evening. Some of the pop videos, said one of the technicians, are a bit "near the knuckle" for showing at times when children are likely to be watching.

Public reaction, which in the early days was restricted to complaints

about poor reception on the channel's own frequency, has picked up. "Some of it is good and some of it, not so good," said Tokaty. "One thing we do know is that the public doesn't care about our lack of facilities and our small staff. Expectations for us are very high."

There have been hiccups. Promised programmes do not always arrive at the studio on time and films are sometimes shorter than expected. But, generally, things have gone smoothly. Said Eliezer Kleinberg, one of the technicians: "There are plenty of films available and we do the best we can with what is available. But knowing you are all alone on the air is definitely a funny feeling."

Tokaty said he was enjoying the challenge of the job but looked forward to the day when he could once again devote his energies to building the commercial TV authority.

Already, he said, there had been a lot of interest in the franchises that will become available once the second channel legislation clears the Knesset. There had been approaches both from domestic companies and firms from Britain and the U.S. But he cautioned that the setting up of the system would not be speedy.

"It will take about another month before the law is finally passed and then it will take some time to negotiate with those who want franchises. Meanwhile, I have to make sure that Channel 2 goes on filling the gap until the IBA gets back to normal."



Some of the overworked staff at Channel 2.

(Huzita, Media)

## Politicians unruffled by quiet on airwaves

MENACHEM SHALEV

"Esse est percipi" - "to be is to be perceived" said English philosopher and Anglican bishop George Berkeley in the 18th century, but he could not have been expected to foresee the vagaries of 20th century Israeli politicians. The fourth week of the television and radio strike finds our local newsmen thoroughly enjoying what they describe as a well-earned vacation.

For politicians, journalists - and perhaps a few hundred thousand other misfits - it's news that's the issue. Politicians have been cut off from their main source of sustenance - exposure - but are behaving as if they have been granted a rest from a nuisance.

MK Yossi Sarid (Citizens Rights Movement), who is arguably the prime media-exploiter in the Knesset, says that, personally, he feels "free, liberated and happy" since the strike began. Tensions are reduced, he says, and he has been relieved of the "compulsive duty" to monitor the hourly radio newscasts and television's nightly *Mabat*.

Those acquainted with Sarid, however, are sceptical. "He really feels muzzled," they say. But Sarid, who is still thinking in terms of a temporary recess, points to the mitigating circumstances: "We are all being muzzled. It's a case of equal lack of opportunity. My rivals are not being heard either."

"I can forecast with some precision how my colleagues would react to the strike," he adds, obviously excluding himself. "It is in inverse proportion to the screen time allotted them."

The politicians' sentiments are not motivated solely by their need for a respite. They are simultaneously enamoured with, and hostile to, the electronic media, and much of their attitude towards the strike is tinged with *simha* - joy at another's misfortune.

Most politicians believe that their rivals' silly notions are being accorded undue attention by the media, while their own brilliant ideas get downplayed. Though they are in on the act themselves, they resent the efforts needed to court television and radio reporters. Many of them - mainly, but far from exclusively - on the right, feel that television is "unpatriotic" and creates a bad mood among the populace by presenting events in a negative light.

And since radio and television, for some reason, tend to report more of the government's shortcomings than its achievements, government officials feel that they have a lot less explaining to do these days.

One Likud MK told his fellow diners over lunch in the Knesset this week: "Look, isn't it amazing? For three weeks we haven't heard of 'unrest in the territories'; no riots, no shootings, just peace and quiet. And it's all because television is not around."

IT HAS NOT been a good year for news producers. Popular singers chant of "blood-thirsty" reporters and soccer fans seek redress with knives. The radio and television strike may not totally dispel the myth of Israeli addiction to news, but it has proved the existence of an alternative lifestyle.

*Mabat's* 9 p.m. time slot was taken up this week by the now universally-receivable Channel Two's showing of Granada's version of the origins of television - and the seductive Whitney Houston. At this rate, television viewers may soon forget what they're missing.

Not that all the politicians are happy. MK Ovadia Eli, also of the Likud, admits that life is "quieter and more civilized" without television and radio, but complains that he is being denied the tools needed to carry his "message" to the public. Eli's use of the term "civilized" is connected to the opening of the Knesset's winter session, which has been uncharacteristically tame despite predictions of a heated, elections-minded term. "It's not a great compliment to us," says Eli, "that the lack of television spotlights in the plenum has noticeably moderated our behaviour."

A senior government official commented: "The politicians are getting back at television for all the

bitter pills they've been forced to swallow, whether because of their negative portrayal of the country's leaders or because of the repeated shut-downs. They're happy to be able to teach television a lesson."

For this reason they are not exerting pressure to have broadcasts renewed and in some cases are giving quiet support to the hard-line attitude of the Treasury and Israel Broadcasting Authority management to strikers' demands.

It seems, therefore, that radio and television reporters have severely miscalculated the effect that their strike would have both on the public and on the politicians. The public is somewhat apathetic and the politicians are practically overjoyed.

Dr. Dina Goren, an adjunct professor of communications at Tel Aviv and Bar-Ilan universities and a CRM candidate for the IBA's executive committee, is not surprised by the politicians' reactions. "They can't be bothered to think things through," she says. "Since they have nothing to show right now, they are satisfied with the situation. If the minister of transport had some 17-lane highway to unveil, you can believe me that he would bemoan the absence of television."

Prime Minister Shamir's media adviser, Avi Pazner, says that there has been a "definite slow-down" in his work since the strike began. "The whole pace of life in the country has slowed because of the strike," Pazner says, "and it might not be such a bad thing. I think the public is generally far less nervous and agitated because it is not attached 24 hours a day to the newscasts."

Sarid presents the flip side of this suggestion: "These are people who say that it doesn't matter if there is an earthquake - if it doesn't appear on television it never happened."

There are people who can't stand 'noise' and would just as soon do away with the Knesset and the government as well. They basically want to live in a fool's paradise.

"From that point of view," Sarid says, "Shamir isn't a Revisionist at all. In Revisionist theory, 'silence is gold.' But Shamir thinks that silence is golden, and if it were up to him, the strike could go on forever."

THE SHUTDOWN of the electronic media is widely credited with facilitating the secrecy which enveloped Secretary of State George Shultz's talks here. Prime Minister Shamir's "conciliatory" speech in the Knesset as well as other burning matters have come and gone, creating hardly a ripple.

"With all due respect to the daily newspapers, this really puts them in their place," says a veteran Israel reporter. "If radio had been operating while Shultz was here, we would have had a flood of leaks from his talks: someone close to Shamir hears something on the radio which he thinks came from Foreign Minister Peres's side, and he immediately reacts, and it goes on until all the details finally emerge."

Newspapers reach only a limited population and lack the immediacy of radio and the visibility of television. Politicians may learn of some reaction-worthy event in the morning's papers, but by the time they formulate a response it is already two days old and the papers won't buy it. So they just don't make the effort, and life is much more relaxed.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Ehud Gol is unsettled by the strike. He says that his "biological clock" has been upset because of the absence of the hourly newscasts and the evening *Mabat* and feels that "something is not whole" in the usual dissemination of information. He misses radio in his work, not least because he is "astonished" at the degree to which foreign journalists rely on the medium as a source of news.

A foreign wire reporter admits that he has had "much less work" during the strike. "Radio generates news," he says, and many items which appear throughout the day have to be checked out, whether they are correct or not.

Post correspondent DAVID HOROVITZ looks at 32 years of ITV

## Strict controls keep British commercial television in line

LONDON. - The first pictures from Independent Television cast their eerie grey-blue glare into 188,000 British homes on the evening of September 22, 1955.

Few people were too bothered. Most were glued to their radio sets, where BBC Radio chiefs had cunningly chosen that night to kill off Grace Archer, the national heroine of the top radio soap programme *The Archers*.

Gibbs SR toothpaste was the first product to be advertised on British TV screens; there was no rush for it in the shops the following morning. As the *Daily Mirror* noted on September 23, "ITV opened with a yawn." But 32 years later, it is well and truly awake, with 15 regional television franchises broadcasting on two separate channels, and there is talk of yet a third independent channel in the coming years.

As Michael Leapman, author of a number of books on ITV and a media editor for *The Independent*, recalls, "ITV was set up by a Conservative government under pressure from the advertising industry. The BBC was adamantly opposed, of course, and so were many viewers who believed that the demands of commercialization would lead to a lowering in standards."

The ITV system was divided into regions, and tenders were invited for companies wishing to provide programmes. The Independent Television Authority (now the Independent Broadcasting Authority) since it also covers commercial radio) vetted the bids, and after agreeing on provisions such as a minimum weekly number of news and documentary hours, the franchises were awarded.

The early years of ITV were dominated by "The Television Barons," rich, astute and ambitious men capitalizing on what was described as the "licence to print money" that an ITV franchise offered. Men like Lew Grade at Associated Televi-

sion, bulging, balding and brilliant, forever chomping on his trademark cigar, forever on the telephone. Or the less flamboyant Sidney Greenstein at Granada, the station with the most respectable image of the 15.

BUT THE ERA of the barons is over, for TV is not for the press. Grade, now Sir Lew, is still smoking and phoning at 80, still co-producing the top radio soap programme *The Archers*.

Each individual company sells its own advertising, and thus funds the making of its own programmes. A programme controller's scheduling committee meets to decide which company's programmes will be screened on which date and at what time of the day, with the various companies competing to get their productions onto the national network in the prime-time slots.

Five television companies dominate British independent television - Thames, London Weekend, Central Yorkshire and Granada. "A kind of Catch-22 system has evolved," says Leapman. "These companies are richer and more successful, so they are able to lavish more money and time on their programmes, thus securing the prime-time spots and boosting their income further."

The Big Five have so far resisted Scottish Television and TV South's efforts to break their domination, and one of the complaints about Channel Four is that it has simply served to enlarge the Big Five's kingdom, albeit with noticeably less conservative programme scheduling.

But spokesmen for the companies themselves reject the notion that they are still stuffing their pockets with vast annual profits. At London Weekend, among the most successful of the companies, pre-tax profits for 1986/87 were £23 million, but

much of that money was reinvested - spent on the purchase of overseas production facilities, for example - and a significant sum was given to charity.

Turnover at London Weekend topped the 300m. mark, but the spokeswoman noted that the costs of transmission - making programmes, purchasing programmes abroad, paying the IBA for the lease of the transmitters - accounted for most of that.

THE COST of advertising ranges from a mere £200 for a 30-second spot during morning transmissions to a massive £20,000 for 30-seconds during peak evening viewing.

Advertising is limited to a merciful maximum of seven minutes per hour, usually split up into three or four slots. The advertising controls of the IBA, and its continued insistence on substantial news coverage, have ensured that the quality of British television has not suffered with the advent of ITV.

By the end of its first two years of broadcasting, in fact, ITV had managed to capture 72 per cent of British TV viewers, proving that those much-vaunted BBC programmes had not been entirely to the public's taste. The BBC hit back with BBC2, but ITV then launched Channel Four, and 1987 finds the ratings battle fairly evenly balanced overall.

The ITV franchises are normally awarded on a seven-year, renewable basis. As Leapman observes, a decision to award franchises on such a basis "would bring all those old fears about mindless commercialization flooding back."

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# The High Court and the Knesset

THE DECISION of the High Court in the Miar case was the first time, as Justice Menahem Elon, one of the two dissenters to the determination of the panel of five justices, pointed out, that the court had intervened in a decision of the Knesset plenum.

"I suspect that from here to our intervention in legislative procedures of the Knesset, neither the time nor the way will be distant... For the present," he concluded, "the court behaves with self-restraint and does not use the authority of review granted it with regard to legislative procedures of the Knesset." (Emphasis in the original.)

In the Miar decision, handed down on October 11, the High Court nullified a decision of the Knesset, taken two years ago on October 15, 1985, lifting the so-called procedural immunity from arrest and search and freedom of movement of the Progressive List Knesset member. The Knesset had acted in response to Miar's participation in a mass meeting in memory of Fud Kawasme, the banished mayor of Hebron, assassinated in Amman.

At the meeting, Miar had reportedly made statements indicating support for the leadership and the aims of the PLO. While the court's decision dealt primarily with weighty questions of interpretation of the legislative immunity law, long regarded as problematic because of its exceptional scope and coverage, public attention was focused on the possibility, alluded to in Elon's dissent, that the court's action heralded a significant move in the direction of American-style judicial review of legislative action.

In American experience, public response to court action has not been an accurate guide to its ultimate significance. A leading example is the famous case of *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), in which Chief Justice John Marshall ruled that the U.S. Supreme Court had the power to invalidate an act of the Congress inconsistent with the constitution, a power not specifically granted the court in the constitution itself.

Public attention then was primarily devoted to the intervention of the court in the processes of the Executive Branch of government, rather than to the issue of judicial review of legislative action, which has come to the fore in Israel in public discussion of the Miar decision. Indeed, more than half a century was to pass before the American court, in the *Dred Scott* case (1854), once again invalidated a law of the Congress on grounds of unconstitutionality.

Much of the discussion in Israel

about the adoption of a written constitution is based on a misconception of American constitutional history. The saliency of the role of the Supreme Court in nullifying laws for unconstitutionality is a comparatively late development, dating from the late 19th century. Statutory interpretation has been a far more frequent method of judicial policy-making. In this area, the court in Israel operates in a manner not very different from that of its American counterpart.

It also operates under similar limitations. Since there is no written constitution in Israel, a court decision can be reversed by subsequent Knesset action. This is true under the American system as well, even where the court's interpretation of federal statutes is based on constitutional grounds. It happens infrequently in both systems.

The argument advanced in Israel that an Israeli judge can be more activist than his American counterpart, because his decision lacks the finality of a constitutional determination and can be altered or reversed by subsequent legislative action, is formally correct but politically naive.

The observation of Prof. Glendon Schubert with regard to the American experience holds, with appropriate modifications, for Israel as well: "In legal theory, Congress can always overrule the court's interpretation of federal statutes, at least prospectively. This is the official view frequently touted by the court itself. Of course, it is utterly unrealistic. Decisions of the court are themselves political data, and they provide strong ammunition for congressmen who would defend the status quo — as defined by the court, of course — against proposals for legislative change."

"To this must be added the immense inertia that must be overcome to force controversial bills through the Congress, apart from the implications of a recent court decision adverse to such a bill. Many congressmen are lawyers, and the argument that proponents of the amendatory bill are showing disrespect for the highest court in the land is an effective one."

IN ISRAEL, respect for the High Court is couched in terms of respect for the rule of law. It reflects, in the Israeli context, a scale of values that prefers professionalism to politics. The Supreme Court is perceived as a professional body, its decisions as

professional judgments. Value-laden decisions, inevitable in constitutional adjudication, weaken the professional mystique, to the extent that they are apparent to the lay observer. So do sharp divisions within the court itself. The Miar decision contained both elements.

The limits of judicial activism in Israel, therefore, depend far more on whether or not the court's determinations are perceived as being within the scope of its professional role than on formal, legalistic notions based on the lack of a written constitution. The adoption of a written constitution would certainly strengthen the legitimacy of judicial intervention in the political process. It is doubtful, however, if it would produce the radical change in the function of the court that proponents of a written constitution advocate and predict.

It is also questionable if a more activist court would necessarily act in a consistently libertarian direction. The dissenting opinion of the court's deputy president, Justice Miriam Ben-Porat, in the Miar case, for example, adopts the view that the court should not intervene in the Knesset's action.

At the same time, however, she advances the view that advocating views denying the existence of Israel as a Jewish state is no part of the performance of the role of a member of the Knesset and, therefore, would not be protected by the substantive immunity granted by law. While other justices query whether there is sufficient proof of the alleged subversive nature of Miar's actions, none appear to reject Ben-Porat's proposed doctrine outright.

Since Justice Ben-Porat relies, in part, on the Knesset law enacted after the last elections that would deny a place on the ballot to Knesset lists that incite to racism, undermine the democratic regime, or deny the existence of Israel as the state of the Jewish people, presumably the rule she advocates would also place Kahane's racist and anti-democratic activities outside the area of the performance of the role of a Knesset member, thus denying him, as well as Miar, Knesset immunity.

Justice Ben-Porat's position, however, would strike at the very core of legislative immunity. It would necessarily involve the very sort of doctrinal examination of the political activity of Knesset members that any legislative immunity law is designed to prevent. It would apply to parliamentary activity by Knesset members within the Knesset itself, restricting the freedom of Knesset debate. Neither Miar nor Kahane are worth such a sacrifice.

The writer is a political scientist.

Allan E. Shapiro

# The case for agreeing to an aid cut

"IGNORANT, ridiculous, coarse, unethical and harming Israel's national interests." These are the qualities attributed by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir to Israelis who expressed fear of substantial cuts in the American aid package to Israel as a result of the economic crisis. Nevertheless, one would have to be naive to believe that, in spite of all that has happened recently in Wall Street, and in spite of the chronic deficit in the U.S. budget, future aid to Israel will stay at the same level as in this and recent years.

No one but the American taxpayer can cover American deficits. There is no foreign aid to the U.S., and there is no "United American Appeal" that could raise money from foreign supporters of that great, generous nation.

They, who help all the rest, have to confront their economic difficulties on their own and resolve it themselves, from their own resources. And, no doubt, they will do it in the only way such a problem can be resolved — by substantial budget cuts.

Should President Reagan continue to reject a rise in taxation, the cuts will be greater; but in any event, budget cuts are inevitable. Can anyone really believe that this would fail to affect Israel?

Of course not. Israel receives the biggest slice of American aid — about 20 per cent of the total of \$13.5 billion. It is completely unreasonable to predict that all expenditures would be reduced except for the aid package to Israel.

This is not mere speculation. Reagan has already expressed readiness to confer with Congressional leaders in order to work out an agreed cutting programme. According to American sources, the military and economic aid to Israel should be reduced by approximately \$140 million this year.

On the other hand, Israel has a written commitment from the U.S. administration that the aid package will not be cut in the next two years. That commitment was given in the course of negotiating the cancellation of the Lavi project, and played a significant part in the decision to accept the American position on that matter.

Israel, one may argue, has already contributed its share to that deal, and the time has now come for the Americans to come up with the consideration for the Israeli surrender. A written government commitment to a foreign country is usually

regarded as binding, from a political, if not a legal, point of view. Violating such a commitment, especially in the case of Israel, which has a powerful lobby in Washington, is simply not done.

The coming year is an election year, and the commitment to the well-being of Israel is certain to be a must for all campaign strategists, who will probably recommend their runners to express support for Israel and understanding of its economic needs.

In the circumstances, Israeli leaders and diplomats will have to bargain. And in the end, the U.S. will have no alternative but to accept the Israeli standpoint.

Arye Naor

ON THE FACE of it, the argument sounds reasonable enough. Israel has a good chance of getting the promised aid, if only Israelis are wise enough to keep their mouths shut and refrain from suggesting a surrender of its right to collect the money.

The prime minister is very reasonable. Those Israelis who cannot keep mum about the U.S. stock exchange crisis are really ignorant, ridiculous, etc. Why should Israel renounce the aid it needs so badly? Why should it relinquish its lawful claim under the bargain struck over the Lavi?

There are two answers. First, Israelis who anxiously monitor the American crisis, anticipating a change in the aid policy, are not the sole source of ideas in Washington. Even if a policy of total silence were adopted in Israel, budget cutting in the U.S., which must necessarily include a reduction of foreign aid, would be still inevitable. It is a misconception to ascribe so much to Israeli determination.

There are factors other than Israel's strong military position that will determine the future of America's aid policy.

Israeli interests are not the only ones to be taken into consideration by Washington decision-makers. The U.S. would not invest so much money, time and energy in Israel unless it had a real interest in strengthening it.

But there are also other American interests, even if some of our politicians fail to recognize that fact. The state of the American economy is one of them; another is the diplomatic need to show a balanced approach to the cutting process.

In other words, Israel's economic

interests and legal rights will not be the only ones to be considered when it comes to dealing with the problem of foreign aid in general.

THIS LEADS TO the second answer.

From the point of view of aid politics, it is not recommended to demonstrate such an eagerness to collect the money, already promised to us in writing.

When the administration undertook that written commitment the situation was different from what it is today. To disregard the Wall Street slump would be interpreted as another example of Israeli ingratitude, even more damaging than the Pollard affair.

To insist on full implementation of the U.S. obligation would be unfriendly behaviour, however justifiable on legal grounds. That is not the way real friends help each other in hard times.

But it is not only an ethical matter. Reciprocity in the relationship of the two countries is very rare, due to the differences between "client"

and "patron." Surely, at long last Israel can afford to recompense the U.S. for its generosity.

It is a dangerous misconception to relate the aid only to the sphere of interests and power politics. If this is done, the aid becomes a cynical function of power politics, a means to impose undesired policies on Israel, and a doubtful element, on which the government cannot lean. Thank heaven, this is not the characteristic of the aid. The will to assist stems from both a national interest and a moral commitment, based upon common ideals, ethical background and deep sympathy.

Without these qualities, without a sense that little Israel and mighty America share the same destiny, we would not receive one fifth of the total amount of U.S. foreign aid.

THINKING ABOUT that and from a broad perspective must lead to the conclusion that a growing sense of disappointment in Israel among Americans is dangerous for the future of the special relationship between the two countries. That disappointment may lead public opinion in the direction of making Israel and its policies of marginal interest.

By insisting on receiving all that was promised, Israel would risk a substantial decrease in all kinds of American support — from economic aid to a political umbrella.

Of course, the insistence does not stem entirely from the strong will to collect the money. It has a lot to do also with the stubborn rejection of advance in the peace efforts on one hand, and the measures necessarily taken against the civilian population in the territories on the other. This is probably the reason why Shamir and his followers ignore the process of marginalization, a reaction which cannot stop the dangerous process.

Bearing the consequences in mind, one should conclude that, in spite of the prime minister's inactivity, it is far beyond the limits of prudence to keep mum about the recent developments in American economy. In the end, there will be a certain reduction in the amount Israel will get. Isn't it more prudent to renounce it voluntarily, on our own initiative, and gain friendly goodwill, than to bargain, suffer from a continued devaluation of our moral values, and, in the end, give in?

For someone whose eyes are closed and for whom reality is not the most important factor on which to build policy, a negative answer to that rhetorical question is possible.

## Charles Hoffman considers the recent conference on Jewish survival

WHILE ATTENDING last week's conference in Jerusalem on the world Jewish population, I was surprised to see so many happy demographers. After all, one of the main conclusions of the conference was that the Jewish people is shrinking, and can expect an accelerated decline in numbers during the next 20 years.

It eventually became clear to me that while the demographers were as concerned as everyone else at this depressing prospect, they were nevertheless aware that the conference would provide a big boost for their research. This applies mainly to the demographers at the Hebrew University's Institute for Contemporary Jewry, and to a lesser extent to their colleagues abroad.

The need for further Jewish demographic research was just one of the conclusions reached by this conference on Jewish survival, which brought together over 200 scholars, community leaders and professionals, educators and political figures from around the world. Most of them realized, however, even before they came, that one of the purposes of the conference was to provide a rationale for further research.

There were other conclusions reached in advance as well, which were not apparent to most of the participants. In fact, a concerted effort was made to keep this "hidden agenda" out of the formal deliberations. Only at the last minute, literally, did the organizer of the conference, Prof. Yitzhak Warszawski, briefly lift the veil on what it had really been convened to accomplish.

As these lists were read out, many of the participants suddenly realized

that this had all been prepared in advance, and were upset that the composition and purpose of these two bodies — the foundation and the coordinating committee — had not been seriously discussed in sessions of the conference. It then dawned on some of them that the vague resolutions that they had just passed at the end of the ceremony would provide these bodies with virtually an open-ended mandate.

THE FIRST indication that the two committees will interpret their mandate liberally came from Warszawski himself. I asked him after the ceremony how much money the foundation seeks to raise and what kind of projects it will fund. He said it would raise "hundreds of millions of dollars" from its roster of donors and from the Israeli government, and that it would make loans and grants to Jews in Israel and abroad to encourage them to have more children and fund Jewish education projects for the Diaspora. It would also fund more research into Jewish demography, including a world Jewish population survey in the early 1990s.

In these remarks Warszawski revealed part of the hidden agenda of the conference. While it was clearly the sense of the conference that more research should be conducted, it was by no means clear that paying Jews to have more children would help solve the problem of Jewish survival. In fact, most of the scholars and communal professionals felt that little if anything could be done to stimulate the Jewish birthrate through material incentives. At the most, many felt, such policies would only give money to those who would have had large families anyway.

Their opinions did not count for much, because this course of action had been decided in advance.

A look at the sponsoring bodies of the conference can tell us whose policy interests are served by an approach which holds that paying Jews to have more babies is a good thing. On the list we see the WZO and Jewish Agency, the World Jewish

Congress, the Institute for Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University and the Demography Centre of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

Thus it was no accident that one of the speakers at the opening night was Labour and Social Affairs Minister Moshe Katsav. He spoke of the "demographic holocaust" facing the Jewish people, which he said could be averted in two ways: increased aliyah and greater material incentives to keep up the Jewish birthrate in Israel and abroad.

The scientific rationale for such a policy was supplied for him by Prof. Roberto Bachi, the dean of Israeli demographers and one of the main forces behind the conference. In his opening speech, he cited instances where material incentives in France and various East European countries had succeeded in raising the birthrate.

The actual effectiveness of such incentives — which is a matter of dispute — and how they might be applied to the Israeli context was not seriously discussed at the conference. Nevertheless, this policy has become part of the new world foundation.

IF PRESSED on this point, the government can point to the preliminary results of a recent fertility survey of Israeli Jewish women. This shows that a considerable proportion would like to have more children, and would do so if they could afford it or if they had a larger home.

One might ask why the government itself doesn't adopt such policies if it believes in their effectiveness. The answer can be found in Katsav's remark that Israel needs to maintain its "demographic balance," which is a delicate way of saying that the Jews must keep a significant edge over the Arabs. And since Katsav is a Herutnik, he was no doubt referring to the demographic balance throughout Greater Israel.

One might also ask why the government should contribute to the new world foundation. Why can't it hand out money directly? The answer here is that if it did so, it would have to give the same incentives to the Arabs as to the Jews. This wouldn't square with the need to preserve the "demographic balance."

A non-governmental Jewish foundation is just the right solution to this dilemma, from Katsav's point of view. (Continued on next page.)

# The hidden agenda

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# President Reagan's credibility problem

WASHINGTON. — With just more than one year left in the White House, President Ronald Reagan is losing his political charm. In the past year, he has suffered several major setbacks that have tended to undermine the earlier glow of his presidency. He no longer is the "Teflon president." Many already see him as a hemming and hawing lame-duck.

First, there was the November 1986 setback in the Senate. For the first time in six years, the Democrats regained control. The president and his Republican allies have had a difficult time ever since.

And the downhill slide has continued unabated. A week later, the Iran-Contra affair erupted. There were months of virtually non-stop nationally televised investigations. Incredibly sensitive and embarrassing details were disclosed.

At best, Reagan was depicted as an aloof, uninvolved president who should have known what his most senior and most trusted national security and intelligence aides were doing. At worst, he was accused of complicity in allegedly illegal acts.

Even if he was unaware of the actual diversion of profits from the Iran arms sales to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua — as he steadfastly has claimed — Reagan must still accept the blame for the entire mess. He set the tone for that sordid scandal by allowing his own perhaps understandable but still overly sentimental feelings toward the American hostages in Lebanon drive U.S. foreign policy. His aides, therefore, thought they were doing what the commander-in-chief so badly wanted.

What perhaps started out as a potentially worthwhile strategic initiative toward supposedly more pragmatic elements in Iran quickly deteriorated. Reagan could have prevented that from happening — but he did not.

Israeli officials may have offered Reagan bad advice, encouraging him to get increasingly involved. But no one was twisting his arm to accept that advice. He should have told Israel — as he has on other occasions — thanks, but no thanks.

The fact that he did not make him fully responsible for the blunders. The House-Senate committee investigating the scandal is expected to offer that conclusion in its 1,000-page final report next month.

The United States, as a democratic superpower with a rather moralistic body politic, obviously cannot get away with certain covert and, at times, even overt actions, that smaller countries with somewhat different political cultures and traditions, like Israel, apparently can.

The Jimmy Carter presidency will forever be marred by his humiliating inability to free American hostages in Teheran for 444 days. That failure was painfully underscored by the aborted and miserable U.S. military performance in attempting to rescue the hostages. For most Americans,

his other achievements — such as the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty — were either forgotten or relegated to the historic sidelines.

NOW, A SECOND American president will have to suffer a similar stigma because of a disastrous policy toward Iran.

The other day, Reagan announced an embargo on Iranian imports to the United States — mostly oil — and the State Department released an unclassified paper and chronology on Iran's use of international terrorism.

But in the wake of earlier duplicitous dealings by the White House with that very same regime, how much credibility do such actions and protestations really have?

And for Reagan, other problems have followed. At the moment, for example, a major crisis is brewing in

## Wolf Blitzer reports that many people are blaming Reagan for the dramatic setback in U.S. economic fortunes

the Persian Gulf with the United States very deeply involved: U.S. ships, attack helicopters and fighter aircraft are poised to strike against Iranian targets if necessary.

The situation there is tense and could get much worse. Many members of Congress don't trust Reagan. They want the president to invoke the War Powers Law, restricting U.S. military actions. Reagan, however, is strongly resisting that drive. He wants the U.S. armed forces to maintain their freedom of action to keep navigation flowing through the Persian Gulf.

But if the situation here should continue to heat up, another major confrontation between the White House and the Congress could develop. That's the last thing Reagan needs right now.

Things are not going well for Reagan in other domestic areas, too. Despite a major effort on his part, the president was unable to convince 51 U.S. senators to support his nomination of Judge Robert Bork to the Supreme Court. The final 58-to-42 rejection of Bork was a staggering political defeat, whose origins almost certainly stemmed from the Democratic takeover of the Senate last year and the most recent image of a battered and weakened president.

Lawmakers are no longer afraid of challenging Reagan openly and loudly. His credibility on the Hill has been set back.

Some of Reagan's closest political associates, including former White House aide Michael Deaver and even Attorney-General Edwin Meese, are being investigated for possible criminal activity. Deaver actually has been indicted; his case is

now before a federal jury. Many other Reagan associates and appointees have been forced to resign their positions in the wake of scandals and insinuations.

The on-again, off-again summit in Washington with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has tended to further characterize a wounded Reagan. The impression has been created that the president is very anxious to receive the Soviet leader, perhaps so anxious as to even accept risky arms reduction concessions which earlier would have seemed out of the question.

The president and his advisers recognize that he needs a dramatic public relations coup to help strengthen his remaining months in office. That could come from a spectacular summit with the Soviet leader this year.

But the Soviets are still jerking the administration around, as was evident earlier in October when Secretary of State George Shultz visited Moscow. Gorbachev upped the ante, all of a sudden, insisting that the U.S. had to curtail its Strategic Defence Initiative in order to set a date for the superpower summit. Since then, the Soviet leader may have had a change of heart.

But still, none of this diplomatic maneuvering among the superpowers has so far restored Reagan's image.

Yet perhaps the worst news of all for the president was the stock market crash of recent days. Who would have believed that the New York exchange could drop more than 500 points in one day — a record loss, more severe than anything that occurred in 1929?

For five years, the president has been telling the American people that his economic policies — Reaganomics — have led to sustained prosperity and growth in America. He has repeatedly pointed to the bullish market on Wall Street as tangible evidence of this new-found confidence.

Yes, the budget and trade deficits were serious, he has conceded. But Congress was largely responsible. And in any case, one should look at the bigger picture. There has been economic expansion, including the creation of millions of new jobs. Interest rates were reduced. Inflation was very low. The Gross National Product has risen impressively. And look, he often has said, at the incredible performance of Wall Street.

Now people are looking — and many are blaming Reagan.

Reagan has repeatedly sought to project optimism, pointing with pride to his economic record. But that upbeat tone disappeared this week when he finally acknowledged what everyone else already knew. The stock market, he said, "has alerted us of potential dangers on the economic horizon."

This limping president, therefore, is in deep trouble, with no end to his problems in sight.

## Judy Siegel meets American philanthropist Irving Schneider

IRVING Schneider, who is donating millions of dollars towards the building of a \$50 million Children's Medical Centre of Israel, has an unusual request for a millionaire contributor — that the institution not bear his name. "I wanted the name to be exactly what we have named it — meant for the children of Israel and from all over this part of the world," he said yesterday.

The New York realtor had no idea what a "children's hospital" was when, as a member of the board of the Long Island Jewish Medical Centre, he learned that its pediatric department would be upgraded into a separate hospital for children. He donated millions to make possible its opening four years ago. The Schneider Children's Hospital on Long Island is the only Jewish-sponsored children's hospital in the world, and the first children's hospital in the New York area.

Now Petah Tikva is to have one, modelled on the Schneider Hospital, which is so carefully planned that the windows are set into the walls at a height determined by an eight-year-old's head.

"We'll be happy now to be the second greatest children's hospital in the world, or maybe we'll just rotate the title," said Schneider, who, with his wife Helen, has been active in medical philanthropy for the last 30 years.

A number of coincidences led Schneider, a

## The modest millionaire



(Zoom 77)

member of the Jewish Agency board of governors and of several other Israeli institutions, to consider a children's hospital in this country. He paid for top world experts to come and determine whether Israel needed such a specialized, interdisciplinary institution: under whose auspices it should be; and where it should be located. The consultants interviewed pediatricians, and the heads of all hospitals and medical schools, and came up with the following answers: Israel does need a children's hospital; it should be under the aegis of Kupat Holim Clalit; and it should be part of Beilinson Hospital in Petah Tikva.

Schneider's one stipulation was that it should be open to youngsters of all religions and national backgrounds, including those from Israel's neighbouring and more distant countries.

He showed Health Minister Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino around his Long Island children's hospital last spring, and she herself handed graduation certificates to three Israeli doctors who had done their specialization there and were about to return home.

The Schneiders, parents of two grown daughters, are reluctant to talk about money. He refused to tell reporters how much he was contributing or raising, or even the total cost of the hospital itself. Other sources had to be pressed to reveal that information.

(Continued from preceding page)

view, since it is not bound to treat Arabs and Jews equally.

ANOTHER OF Bachi's contributions to the hidden agenda of the conference was on the subject of abortion.

In a background paper prepared by one of the participants, Bachi inserted the following policy recommendation, without the knowledge of the author: "Abortion, especially by married women, should be discouraged." In his own address to the conference Bachi was more circumspect, noting that policies should be adopted in order to avoid "unnecessary abortions."

Bachi has enough integrity to realize that an overt anti-abortion policy, which is a highly sensitive issue for feminists and liberals, cannot be easily provided with a veneer of scientific respectability.

A pseudo-scientific rationale for an anti-abortion policy was provided by the Jewish Association for Birth Encouragement, known as Efrat. In one of its pamphlets distributed at the conference, Dr. Eli Schussheim wrote:

"Surveys have shown that mothers of large families, who run their lives in accordance with biological nature, have a stronger mental and physical state of health...A woman who goes against her nature, preventing the creation of life, causes damage to her beauty, apart from other negative results."

These statements, whose scientific basis is at best highly questionable, were issued under the auspices of Efrat's Medical Department. Some of the women taking part in the discussions were outraged that such material was distributed. But again, as with some other controversial issues, the conference did not provide an opportunity for a serious airing of the abortion issue.

Nevertheless, Efrat's views are influential in certain government circles dealing with demographic policy, and the organization is one of the backers of the fund to encourage

## Hidden agenda

Jewish families to have more children.

Another controversial issue that was not seriously addressed was how to deal with the social and religious consequences of intermarriage, although the topic surfaced repeatedly.

According to the traditional Orthodox view, this should not be a "policy" question at all, where one might consider various "options" for action. Intermarriage should be condemned, and that is all that needs to be said. But this head-in-the-sand approach ignores the fact that many intermarried couples and their children, especially in the U.S., continue to identify in some way with the Jewish community. If they are not to be written off, how should they be approached? How should the issue of conversion be handled?

IN GENERAL, the conference organizers tried to keep debate on controversial policy issues to a minimum. This seems to have been done to avoid an overt clash or split between what may be called the "modernist" and "traditionalist" positions on issues such as fertility, abortion and the consequences of intermarriage.

If such a split had indeed emerged, then this could have threatened the approval of the closing resolutions, which the International Coordinating Committee needed to assure its flexible mandate.

As for the committee itself, it represents another part of the hidden agenda of the conference, which is concerned with assuring the survival of one of the sponsoring organizations, the WZO.

Several sessions on Jewish education were devoted to superficial presentations of the work of various WZO departments, especially those which have sent out hundreds of

shlichim (emissaries) to the Jewish world over the years. While the programmes and shlichim of these departments were touted as means to save Jewish youth and the Jewish future, no discussion of their effectiveness was conducted, even though they have been seriously criticized by many of their Diaspora clients.

These presentations were basically a public relations exercise for WZO departments concerned as much with the question of their own survival as with the survival of the Jewish people. The recommendations of the conference will no doubt be exploited at the forthcoming Zionist Congress to justify more money being spent on programmes that have not been seriously evaluated in years, if at all.

AND SPEAKING of money, it was no accident that there is not one figure from the American fund-raising establishment on the list of contributors lined up for the new Jewish population foundation. Billionaire Edgar Bronfman, who is also president of the World Jewish Congress, was the only North American on the list, and he is not part of the United Jewish Appeal/Federation establishment.

The Israeli politicians who control the WZO have become quite frustrated in the past few years in their dealings with the American fund-raisers on questions of Jewish education, among other things.

The fund-raisers have had the nerve to seek to have some influence over the millions of dollars spent each year on programmes aimed at their children in the Diaspora — dollars which they provide through the WZO and Jewish Agency. They have been particularly concerned about evaluating long-standing programmes and introducing new ones that do not necessarily

serve the interests of the WZO departments.

The heads of the WZO have not taken kindly to such efforts, and many of them are calling for it to regain full control of its educational programmes and budgets. If they don't succeed, the creation of the new foundation, which will fund Jewish education programmes, offers them a way to bypass their own organization and their problems with the troublesome American fund-raisers.

It is well known that the non-American philanthropists are less prone than the Americans to "interfere" in WZO/Agency business, and are generally content to let the Israelis take the lead. The WZO leaders no doubt hope that this passive tendency of the non-Americans will also prevail in the new foundation.

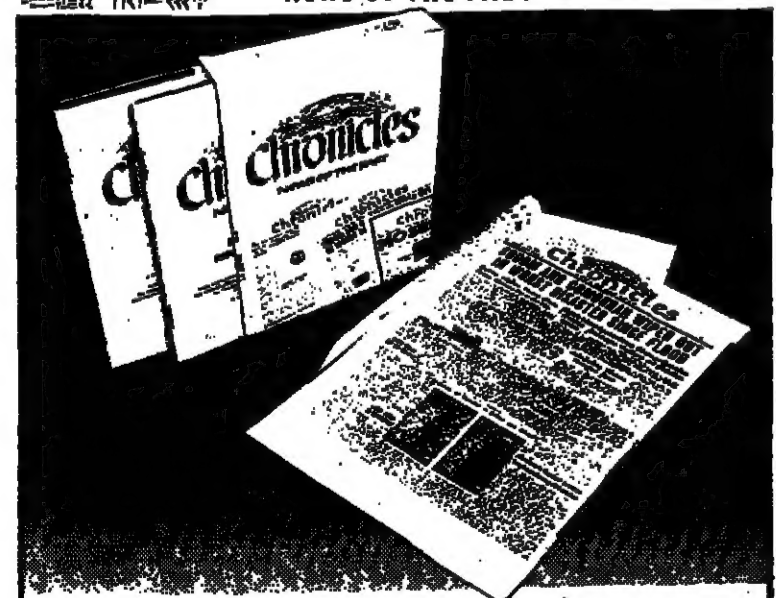
ON THE QUESTION of what the foundation's priorities should be, the WZO leaders who spoke at the conference left no doubt that only increased aliza could save the Jewish people. WZO/Agency treasurer Akiva Lewinsky, who was given the honour of announcing the establishment of the foundation, said that only if the Jewish people lives in its own land can it be assured of demographic survival.

Does this imply that intensive efforts should not be made to preserve Jewish life in the Diaspora as an end in itself? Lewinsky's statement does not clarify this issue, which has crucial policy-making implications for the foundation. But this was one of the controversial issues left off the conference agenda.

The issues that comprised the hidden agenda will no doubt surface in the International Coordinating Committee when it gets down to the business of dividing up the money provided by the foundation. But then it may be too late for the scholars and Jewish communal professionals who were manipulated by the conference to give these issues the thorough discussion they deserve.

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"American Zionism on the Eve of the Balfour Declaration,"  
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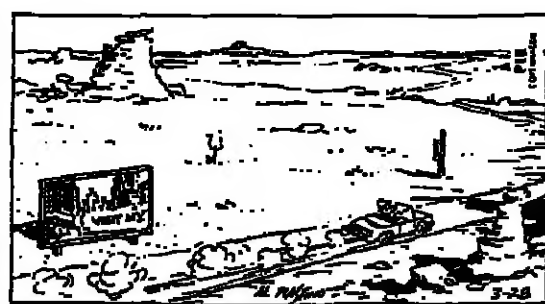
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## READERS' LETTERS

### THE HISTADRUT LOOKS TO THE FUTURE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, - I refer to Shlomo Maoz's article of October 20 and agree with him in principle that the formation of a "confederation" by several Histadrut and non-Histadrut unions of professionals should be a reason for concern for the Histadrut's leadership. However, the headline, "The decline of the Histadrut," seems to me to be out of proportion.

I would remind your readers that more severe onslaughts on its trade union structure, such as the "Dan region action committees" of the 60s and the "13 leading works committees" of the 70s, have been dealt with successfully and eliminated by the Histadrut.

Moreover, the idea of cooperation and coordination between unions of academicians within the Histadrut is by no means alien or contradictory to its concepts and principles.

One should also remember that the unions involved do not intend to secede from the Histadrut. However, should such a proposal be brought before their respective conventions, they would almost certainly run the risk of a split in their ranks. As to the problems of the Histadrut's health fund, also mentioned by your correspondent, one should take

into account the serious efforts being made to improve its services. Even the current dispute with the doctors was ignited by the recently long-awaited introduction of a second operating shift in its hospitals. Competing health funds lose their advantage over Kupat Holim once they open their ranks to the public at large and cease to be selective and elitist.

As to the comparison between the Histadrut pension funds and bank-run provident funds, one should keep in mind that the pension funds provide survivors and invalidity insurance after three years of membership, whilst the provident funds leave the insured exposed to these risks for many years.

To sum up, the Histadrut's specific structure withstood many challenges since its establishment, 67 years ago, so that there is still good reason to trust its ability to maintain its leading position in the country's socio-economic life - provided it keeps up with current needs, learns from past mistakes and carries out all the reforms necessary to restructure and revitalize its system.

**GAVRIEL BARTAL**,  
Publications Editor,  
Histadrut Executive Committee  
Tel Aviv.

### COMPULSORY ARBITRATION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, - There ought to be a law prohibiting strikes or other work-disruptions - slow-down, sick-out, work-to-rule, etc. - and requiring compulsory arbitration for workers occupying essential positions. Irreplaceable workers - e.g. doctors, nurses, airline pilots, air-traffic controllers - should be required to stay on the job, and replaceable workers - e.g. trash collectors and radio/TV journalists - should be replaced.

News coverage in Israel is less a spectator-sport (as in the USA) than an essential support service for a responsible, alert citizenry. Let me suggest, at the risk of taking a cheap shot, that several of the flood deaths reported in The Jerusalem Post of October 19 might not have occurred had radio/TV news coverage not been struck and people could have been forewarned.

**STEVE AMDUR**  
Jerusalem.

### NO ONE REALLY CARES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, - I wonder whether all those responsible for running our TV and radio realize their cruelty and lack of consideration with regard to the hundreds of elderly people who rely on the electronic media as their only form of recreation.

I am the wife of one such senior citizen and know what it means. It seems that no one really cares. May God bless Abie Nathan and his Voice of Peace for providing a few hours of wonderful music.

**R.R.**  
(Name and address supplied.)  
Tel Aviv.

### IBA'S DUTY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, - Regarding the strike by the television and radio staff in our country, two important issues should be addressed:

1. People who have access to Jordan and South Lebanon TV don't care about Israeli television. This is dangerous from two points: first, Jordan has a pro-Arab editorial slant to all its news. Second, South Lebanon is a Christian missionary station whose "commercials" are intended to gain new followers.

2. The strike cancels our obligation to pay taxes on a service, if it is not working. We pay a considerable sum of money in TV and radio taxes each year. Why should we pay it if TV and radio are not broadcasting? The Israel Broadcasting Authority has a duty to the public to provide a service, even if it is only news and music. Why should the general public, especially children and old people, suffer because others are stubborn, no matter how just their cause?

If the employees have a pay dispute, let the labour courts and arbitrators handle it. Don't punish the general public.

**ALISA G. SLATIS**  
Rehovot.

### "CALEB'S COLUMN"

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, - I greatly enjoy Caleb's Column by N.D. Gross: it is staid, honest, straightforward and very humorous, nevertheless. Lovely, and well placed next to Alex Beryne's column.

**MORDECHAI M. ESCHWEGE**  
Jerusalem.

### FORMER MANCUNIAN

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, - To mark Israel's 40th anniversary, the Zionist Central Council of Greater Manchester is planning to erect a memorial board in honour of those with Manchester connections who fell in the wars of Israel.

Any of your readers knowing of such people - former Mancunians or relatives of Mancunians - should contact Mrs. Joyce Marcus, the Public Relations/Information Director of the Zionist Central Council of Greater Manchester, 142 Bury Old Road, Manchester M8 6HD, England, with the relevant details.

**STEVEN FRUHMANN**,  
President, Zionist Central Council  
of Greater Manchester  
Manchester.

### YAD VASHEM

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, - My wife and I have visited Israel and especially Jerusalem many times. Each time, since it opened, we have made it our business to visit Yad Vashem. Our only criticism is the lack of public transportation to the entrance. The "Egged" bus drops off its passengers about half a mile from the entrance and one must walk that distance again after a tiring tour of the museum.

It is important for everyone to visit Yad Vashem and it should not be necessary to take a cab or private bus to the entrance. It should be equally available to the poor, elderly and handicapped and to the wealthy, affluent and energetic.

**MILTON E. KRAMER**  
Brooklyn.

### SICKLY HEALTH SERVICE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, - To this British tourist, your leader of October 9, "The sickly health system," has an all too familiar ring.

May I offer for your readers' reflection what the experience of increasingly strong trends towards privatized medicine has meant in Scotland:

1. Non-emergency operations for those who pay are carried out in days, and for those who cannot pay, there is a waiting list of months.

2. Staff trained by, and at the expense of the National Health Service, are being lured away by private medicine.

Consultants (using facilities financed by the tax-payer) give priority to fee-paying patients.

Your leader deals with critical questions facing "Israel's once widely admired public health system." Those making decisions might usefully ask the perceptive Israeli Embassy in London for a report on the UK's "once widely admired public health system."

**TAM DALYELL**  
Kibbutz Beit Oren.

## The IPO in impressive form

ISRAELI PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA. Yoel Levi conducting, with Shlomo Mintz, violin, and the Tel Aviv Philharmonic Choir directed by Steven Sloane (Mass Auditorium, Tel Aviv, October 24). Mozart: Symphony No. 34 in C major, K.338; Prokofiev: Concerto No. 2 in G minor for Violin and Orchestra, Op. 63; Ravel: "Daphnis et Chloe", Choreographic symphony in three parts (for orchestra and choir).

THE MOZART symphony started extremely well, with transparent and airy textures and smoothly flowing melody. Towards the end of the first movement, however, violinists suddenly applied unnecessary pressure on the strings, producing heavy and forced sound and many rough edges.

As to the second movement, one could not but wonder how such lovely lyricism could leave the conductor so uninspired. The movement was dull and monotonous. This performance showed again that Mozart remains a hard nut to crack.

The rest of the concert was excellent. In the Prokofiev concerto, conductor and soloist established a marvellous relationship. Though Prokofiev integrated the solo part into the orchestral texture, both the solo and the orchestra stood out independently and at the same time were completely blended. One could follow each part easily; yet together they constituted complete unity. There was no dialogue in the usual sense, but a musical entity which spoke with two voices.

Mintz's style was beautifully restrained. He was not carried away either by the expressiveness of Prokofiev's melody or by the virtuosity of the last movement. Yet not a single idea was lost: everything was brought out with full authority.

Levi, on his part, revealed every single phrase, motif, voice and orchestral figure. There was no solo and accompaniment but one single progression of the music.

No less rewarding was Ravel's "Daphnis et Chloe." Levi was in full control, and extracted from both the orchestra and the choir all he wanted and his demands were humble.

Solo passages in the orchestra, complicated rhythms, sound blocks, everything seemed perfectly crystallized. But what was even more impressive was the free movement with which the music flowed. One was never aware of the bar line, only of movement intended for the dancers.

The whole long work was a complete continuity, climaxing with a final outburst of exploding colour and sound.

**BENJAMIN BAR-AM**

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4:30 p.m.  
4:30 p.m.  
4:30 p.m.

**ENDS**  
5:30 p.m.  
5:30 p.m.  
5:30 p.m.  
5:30 p.m.  
5:30 p.m.

Torah portions: Lech Lecha

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**YESHURUN CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE**, Fr. Mincha 4:30 p.m. Shabbat, Shabbat K, Mincha 4:15, 4:30; Ma'ariv, 5:30. Cantor: Asher Hanovitz.

**WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES**, Congregation, Agudat Yisrael, 4:40 Shabbat, Shabbat K, Mincha 4:15, 4:30; Ma'ariv, 5:30. Cantor: Asher Hanovitz.

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**BENJAMIN BAR-AM**

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**BENJAMIN BAR-AM**

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**BENJAMIN BAR-AM**

**HAIFA**

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## BASKETBALL

## Maccabi scrape through at wire

By DON GOULD and YORAM KESSEL  
TEL AVIV: Maccabi Tel Aviv and Galil Elyon went down to the wire at Yed Elyahu, before the champions finally pulled it off 93-86. In this struggle of two previously unbeaten teams, it was the bench strength of Maccabi that helped them seal the victory.

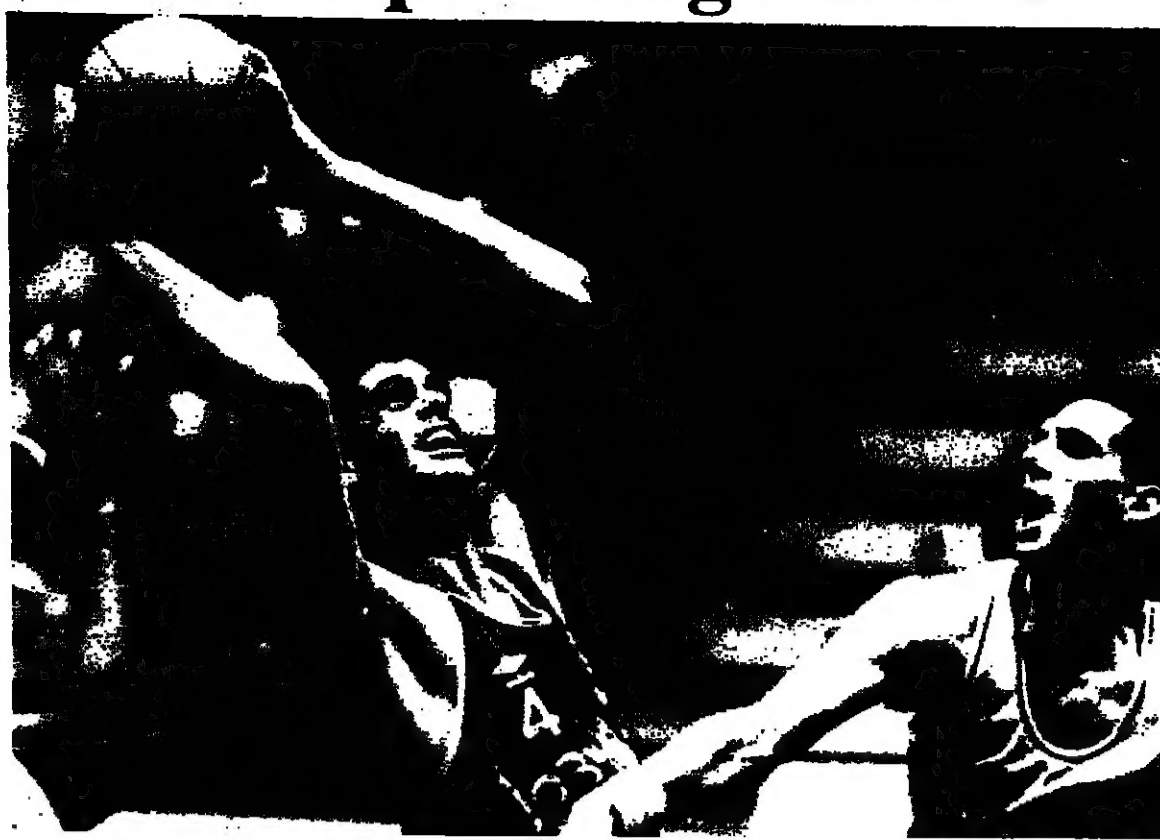
Galil Elyon got superb balance from their starting five, but coach Moolie Katsorin couldn't reach any further, he needed help badly. Point guard, Wayne Freeman, hitting 57% of his shots from the field, led all scorers with 26 points. Every other starter for Galil Elyon got into double numbers, but that's all they got. Twenty-year-old Ofer Fleisher at 2.10 metres, going against the likes of Kevin Magee and Ken Barlow of Maccabi Tel Aviv, helped Galil win the battle of the boards, as he pulled down a game high 13.

The player who really got Maccabi Tel Aviv going was Motti Danil, who came off the bench to do the damage.

This game sets up a terrific battle in the fifth round on Monday night when Hapoel take on Maccabi Tel Aviv at their home base.

Last night, Hapoel Jerusalem who have already tested the two top teams, Hapoel Galil Elyon and Maccabi Tel Aviv, again took another of the season's leading teams, highly fancied Hapoel Haifa, all the way, before falling just short 85-84 at the final buzzer. The last leaves the Jerusalemites searching for a chance to win the title from perennial champions Maccabi Tel Aviv.

The packed Goldberg stadium was treated to an evenly matched first half, in which turnovers and missed shots matched each other consistently. But, as the second period, both teams suddenly decided they had had enough of the uninspired play. They strung together some lovely plays, drilled their shooting into an effi-



**EVASION.** - Nadav Henfeld (Galil Elyon) gets past Doron Jamchee (Maccabi Tel Aviv) to score.

cient mound, and produced an exciting 15-minute finish.

Half-way through the second half, spearheaded by the efficient and ever-cool Joe Dawson (game-high scorer with 30 points) Hapoel sprinted to a 12-point lead, 73-61. They have greater depth in talent and are far more able to make up for their defensively minus offense and spirit. They clawed their way back to take over the lead at 76-73 with 3:40 to go. Billy Miller (23 points) nearly helped the hosts to pull off a major surprise, but, in the end, Hapoel's nerves and Yoram Kessel's shooting proved too strong.

There were, however, two surprises pulled off last night when Maccabi Ramat Gan notched up their first victory of the season by sending off much touted Elitzur Netanya 90-77 at Kfar Hamekabele, while Hapoel Haifa also registered their first win, taking the derby over Maccabi by a comfortable 83-73. Hapoel Tel Aviv continued their impressive run, successfully dumping Maccabi Netanya 106-83 in Netanya.

But spare a thought for Betar Tel Aviv's Mark Simpson. He was the round's top scorer with 45 points, but his team were nevertheless dumped 122-81 by exaltado Elitzur Neve David Ramat.

## NATIONAL BASKETBALL LEAGUE

	W	L	Pct.
1. Maccabi Tel Aviv	4	0	.700
2. Hapoel Haifa	4	0	.667
3. Galil Elyon	3	1	.600
4. Hapoel Tel Aviv	3	0	.600
5. Elitzur Netanya	2	2	.500
6. Elitzur Ramat	2	2	.500
7. Hapoel Haifa	1	3	.333
8. Hapoel Haifa	1	3	.333
9. Maccabi Ramat	1	3	.333
10. Maccabi Ramat	1	3	.333
11. Betar Tel Aviv	1	4	.250
12. Netanya	0	4	.000

(\* Suspended game)

## SOCCER PREVIEW

## Return of the prodigals

Post Sports Staff  
Motti Iwanir and Moshe Sinai have returned from Europe after encountering sad disappointments in their efforts to climb there to the stars. Their tragedy is not that they did not reach the utmost heights - they were not even given a chance to put their feet on the bottom rungs of the ladder. Nobody will ever know what might have been...

Moshe Sinai arrived home on Wednesday night, accompanied by his wife and children, with a letter from the Belgian club Beveren releasing him to play for Hapoel Tel Aviv. He had a bad time in Belgium: what with injuries and other problems, he never got a chance to show his remarkable abilities.

He handed over the release to Hapoel chairman Gadi Tavor, who began negotiations immediately with the Israel Football Association to allow Sinai to play in Saturday's

Tel Aviv derby between Hapoel and Maccabi.

Maccabi also have a returned prodigal, Motti Iwanir, who had a rough time at Dutch club Roda, where he never got a chance to play in the first team. He received a very cold welcome from the Israel Football Association. They reminded him that he had got a red card before he left on his search for fame and glory, and still had to work off four games of his suspension for his sins. Maccabi begged for a pardon, but found the hearts of the judges cold and pitiless.

But, after all, Maccabi have managed without Iwanir all season, so they can probably soldier on for a while longer. Yet they have other troubles. Eli Dricks, their formidable striker, is still not fully fit, and may not be in the starting line on Saturday.

Despite these difficulties, the two

Tel Aviv teams, both candidates for the championship, should provide some memorable soccer, if their coaches allow them to play their natural attacking style football, instead of crawling into bunkers, as happens so often in derbies. Weather permitting, they should attract a record crowd for the season.

Last week troubled Maccabi Haifa managed to take out a draw with Maccabi Tel Aviv. Anybody who has been abroad for a couple of months, and out of touch with Israeli soccer, will find it hard to believe his eyes when he looks at the table - the one-time top team in Israeli soccer are in second last place, with a beggarly three points from seven matches, only one point above poor, hapless Hapoel Lod, who are a very sick team indeed.

Haifa are suffering from the internal tensions that small clubs often have. Last week coach Dror Katsorin had the temerity to put his Argentinean superstar Daniel Brakovsky on the reserve bench. After sulking and refusing to do soccer gear, Brakovsky returned. So did Katsorin. He brought Brakovsky on to the second half, and Brakovsky felt Zahi Arad's perfect pass, and gave Haifa an invaluable draw.

The Argentinean will be in the Haifa starting

line-up against Shimon in mid-field. But Haifa still have troubles. Nir Klinger is injured and is a definite non-starter. Lior Rosenfeld is doubtful. What Haifa need is not a particular player, but the will to win.

Another team requiring psychiatric help is Beitar Jerusalem. Who would have dreamt last season that they would ever go down so miserably to the hands of youngsters of Hapoel Tel Aviv, as they did in their last match?

Admittedly, there are objective reasons for their misery. Despite being charged by the police with committing a criminal offence, Shimon Barad is expected to play on Saturday against Hapoel Beersheba, but what kind of soccer will he produce? What will be the effect of his inclusion, and of the probable harrumphing by the crowd, on the rest of the team?

Beitar will be without Didi, who has a three game suspension to work off, but, in any case, the club want to get rid of him. Elad Ashush is injured. Mordechai is at a low ebb.

League leaders Maccabi Netanya play away against Maccabi Peah Tikva, 11 places below them. On paper, this looks like an easy win for the visitors. But last week they were lucky to score a draw with Hapoel Haifa at home, so anything can happen in Peah Tikva.

Other games: Hapoel Lod v Hapoel Peah Tikva; Hapoel Haifa v Beitar Jerusalem; Beitar Tel Aviv v Hapoel Ramat.

## BRITISH SOCCER

## Liverpool out of Cup

LONDON (Reuters) - Everton and England defender Gary Stevens ended Liverpool's unbeaten record this season and knocked them out of the English League Cup by scoring the only goal in their third round tie.

Stevens struck with a powerful shot from 25 meters only six minutes from time to send the league champions into the last 16 at the expense of the current first division leaders.

The match was watched by a capacity 14,000 crowd at Anfield. A further 12,000 at Everton's Goodison Park ground a few miles away watched the match live on television screens.

Troubled and injury-hit Tottenham were also eliminated when they slumped to their fourth successive defeat, 2-1 at Second Division Aston Villa who extended their own unbeaten run to 13 matches. Alan McNally headed Villa ahead after only eight minutes, but Tottenham relied through veteran Argentine midfielder Osvaldo Ardiles after 64 minutes. Warren Aspinall forced home Villa's winner 12 minutes from time.

Scottish striker Brian McClair struck twice to lead Manchester United to a 3-1 victory over second division Crystal Palace, managed by former United favorite Steve Coppell.

McClair scored from a penalty after eight minutes and an accurate header after 28, but Palace replied through K. O'Doherty five minutes before the interval.

In the remaining League Cup third-round ties, Newcastle - missing injured Brazilian striker Mirandinha - were eliminated 2-1 at Wimbledon, Terry Gibson scoring a late winner in injury time.

John Fashanu put Wimbledon ahead, but Neil McDonald deservedly equalized from a penalty before Gibson struck.

In the Scottish Premier League, Glasgow Rangers cruised to a 4-0 win at Dundee, but city rivals Celtic conceded two late goals as they beat Falkirk 3-2.

Aberdeen won 3-1 at St Mirren to stay third ahead of Rangers. Hearts lead the table by three points from Celtic.

**SCOREBOARD**  
ANTWERP TENNIS - John McEnroe, paring his second successive European Community Championship title, won his first match of the tournament yesterday by beating Argentine Martin Jarry 6-4, 6-2.

Other results: Mats Wilander (Swe) beat Jonas Svensson (Swe) 6-4, 3-6, 10-8; Tim Mayotte (U.S.) beat Joakim Nyström (Swe) 3-6, 6-3, 6-4; and Wojtek Flak (Pol) beat Yannick Noah 6-5, 6-4.

NBL - Wednesday's games: Toronto 5, New York Islanders 2; Montreal 3, Edmonton 1; Los Angeles 4, New York Rangers 3; Buffalo 2, Hartford 3-ot; Detroit 5, Winnipeg 1.

## Going up to the Land

The portion of Tora read this week is lech-lecha (Genesis 12:1-17:27).

TORA TODAY / Pinchas H. Peli



Abraham and Sarah

SUDDENLY, a command: "And the Lord said unto Abram, 'Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto the land that I will show thee'" (Genesis 12:1). Why Abram (later Abraham) of all people? What did he do to deserve being summoned and promised "to be blessed" and to be "made into a great nation" (verses 2-3)?

All we know about Abraham up until now amounts to some trivial personal data, namely, that his father was Terah (a descendant of Shem, the son of Noah), who also parented two other children: Nabor (named for his grandfather, Terah's father) and Haran; and that he married a woman by the name of Sarai, whose only claim to fame was that "she was barren and had no child" (ibid., 11:24-32). Quite an ordinary biographical sketch, as a prelude to this most extraordinary call to emigrate to an unknown promised land, in order to become the father of a unique, great nation!

What complicates the matter even further, is the fact that this solemn command reaches Abraham as he, being part of Terah's family, is already well on the way to the land where the Lord now commands him to go. This we are told in the preceding chapter (11:31): "And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife, and they went forth... to go into the land of Canaan." God commanded Abraham to go to the land which he "will show" him. We are never told if and when God actually showed him the land, but we know that it was the land of Canaan to which Abraham went at the command of the Lord, the very same land to which Lot journeyed all on his own.

Ibn Ezra (1093-1167), the most daring among the classical Tora commentators, applies the rule that the Tora narrative is not necessarily presented in chronological sequence (ein mukdam u'me'achar ba-tora) to suggest that Abraham preceded the journey taken by Terah and his family. This, however, does not take care of the many puzzling questions which surface as we read the text. If, indeed, the journey of the Terah family towards Canaan resulted from God's command to Abraham, why does Terah "take" Abraham on the trip (11:31) and not vice versa as it should be? Furthermore, why are they all travelling to Canaan when the Lord had not yet told them where to go, but had only promised to "show" them the land later on?

And last, if they were indeed going to the land of Canaan as commanded, why did they "drop out" on the road, as it is written: "they came unto Haran and dwelt there?" It seems to us that the striking command lech-lecha ("Go thee!") directed to Abraham appears against the backdrop of Terah's unfinished journey; not by accident, but to underscore the full significance of Abraham's divinely-ordained journey as compared to other similar travels. Many people "make aliyah" to the Promised Land, yet there is a world of difference between one aliyah and another, depending on the motivation and circumstances. The going-up of Abraham to the land was to become an epoch-making turning point in human history, and was very different to the journey of Terah, although, to all appearances, both went in the same direction.

THERE WERE two parts to the command given to Abraham. One was to "go from..." the other to "go to..." Ever since Abraham, most waves of migration of people to new lands have been triggered either by the repelling nature of the country which they were leaving behind, or the drawing power of the country to which they were attracted.

The purposeful migration of Abraham and his family to the Promised Land required both fac-

tors. Abraham was commanded to leave "his country, his kindred and father's home" prior to going to "the land" which the Lord would show him. Rejecting the idols of Haran and of the Chaldeans was a prerequisite for entering the land. Had he not done this, he might have been among those who leave the galut (exile and all its ills), but do not let galut leave them and even in their new land continue to practise a galut way of life.

We do not know why Terah had decided to go to the Land of Canaan. He may have had different reasons, ranging from "following the sun" during the cold winter months to "making some money" in a land flowing with milk and honey in the heart of the Fertile Crescent. In all fairness to Terah, one must not exclude the possibility that he may have been motivated by a spiritual quest. According to ancient tradition, the holiness of the land was not unknown, even before Abraham. This was the land in which Adam and Eve, the first humans, flourished and over which their children Cain and Abel fought (see Pirkei d'Rabbi Eliezer, 12; Gen. Rabba 22 and Kuzari 2, 14). Even the Deluge which flooded the rest of the world was kept away from this land. Terah must have been aware of this, and that was perhaps why he wished to go there.

But there is a tremendous difference between the journey of Terah, even if initially motivated by a spiritual quest, and the journey of Abraham. Terah and his family, we are told (11:31) "go forth" from Ur of the Chaldeans "to go into the land of Canaan." They are following some inexplicable drive to change countries. They declare that their choice is the land of Canaan, but when they reach the land of Haran, they do not mind settling there. Not so Abraham. He could never drop out in the middle of the way. To him the land was not a place to "try out" for a year or two in order to see what it was like. He felt commanded to go to a land where only after arriving would he be shown by God what it meant to him and to the future of the people which he and his life's companion Sarai were destined to found.

Abraham's being commanded to go to the land asher ar'eka ("which I will show thee"), does not mean that God was hiding the destination of the journey from him. We do not find anywhere that the Lord indicated to Abraham where he was to end his journey. Abraham knew that by himself. What was meant by the words "which I will show thee" was that only upon arriving in the land would he discover its intrinsic mean-

ing as a place where one becomes a "neighbour to the Holy Presence" (shachen la-shechina) and is thus qualified for prophecy, which could not transpire outside of the land (see opening chapter of the Mekilta).

Other commentators interpret asher ar'eka as not referring to the land, but to Abraham. Only in the land and through the land, will Abraham be shown to the world in his true stature. As long as Abraham or his descendants are scattered around the world they present a distorted, sometimes contemptible image. This could be corrected only when they are in their own land. Only there could they really emerge as a "great and reputable nation" with the capacity of being "a blessing to all the families of the earth" as the Lord promised Abraham.

ABRAHAM WAS the first to be shown the special qualities of the land which was destined to be transformed from the Land of Canaan, the cursed (Genesis 9:25) to the Land of Israel (Eretz Yisrael), the blessed. Getting there remained for many generations afterwards the most sublime dream of every Jew. The yearning to live in Eretz Yisrael fills the pages of rabbinic literature both in its legal and legendary aspects. Yehuda Halevi, the great medieval poet and philosopher, exclaims that "the air of this land is the air of the soul." He, like so many other known and unknown heroes, risked everything to go to the land, as if they were directly commanded to do so, as Abraham was.

Among the many who tried (but did not succeed) were both great leaders of Judaism at the threshold of modern times (but prior to Zionism): Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov (1700-60), the founder of Hassidism, and its arch-opponent, Rabbi Eliyahu the Gaon (Genius) of Vilna (1720-97).

The Vilna Gaon, in a letter to his family, sent from the road to Eretz Yisrael, expresses his praise to the Lord for helping him to go to "the place which is coveted by all celestial and earthly divine powers."

A beautiful but little-known hasidic tale tells that once, when the Baal Shem Tov ("the good master of the Name") was on one of his many trips to Heaven, he was offered the rare privilege of staying there permanently, and thus being spared the agonies of death. The Baal Shem Tov, however, declined the offer, saying that as long as he still had a chance to go up to Eretz Yisrael he would not forgo it, even for a seat in Heaven.

Rabbi Peli is the Blechner Professor of Jewish thought and literature, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

## EUROPEAN SOCCER

## Dutch chance blown off

ROTTERDAM (Reuters) - Despite beating Cyprus 8-0 here in a European Championship game, Holland may have blown away in a firework explosion, thrown by a stupid member of the crowd, their chance of reaching the final.

The qualifying match was halted for an hour after a firework thrown from the crowd injured the Cypriot goalkeeper after only three minutes.

The entire Cyprus team walked off the pitch when goalkeeper Andreas Charitou was carried off on a stretcher after the firework had exploded in the goalmouth. The Netherlands led through a goal by John Bosman when the group five match was halted.

Officials said that Charitou had suffered an eye injury in the incident. They claimed that it was not serious.

When the Cyprus team returned to the dressing-rooms, they said that they would not continue playing and began to change. But they went back after 45 minutes.

The Soviet Union became the first nation to qualify for next year's finals of the European Championship when they outclassed Iceland, cruising to a 2-0 victory in Simferopol.

Combining energy and aggression with skill, their injury-hit team had no trouble in securing the points they required to clinch a place in West Germany, with goals from Igor Belanov and Oleg Protasov.

In Vienna, Romania edged closer to the finals with a 1-0 away win over Albania in their group one qualifying

## Cost of Idiocy

ROTTERDAM (Reuters). The crowd trouble has prompted UEFA to threaten to deprive Dutch soccer of its first ticket to the final stages of a major championship in nearly eight years. UEFA officials will study videotapes of the match and discuss the incident.

"It is impossible to say what UEFA will decide, but the rulebook says the whole thing will have to go to the disciplinary committee," Dutch Soccer Association chairman Jo van Marle said yesterday.

Officials and players fear a repetition of a 1984 UEFA decision which stopped the Netherlands from taking part in the finals of the European under-21 championships.

"It would be an injustice if the action of one idiot prevents us getting to the final after so many years' work," Dutch captain Rudi Gullit said.

ing soccer tie in Vlor.

The result left Romania top of group one with eight points from five games, the same tally as Spain has, but with a superior goal difference. The final outcome will be decided on November 18 when Spain travel to Albania and Romania visit Austria.

Spanish First Division: Barcelona 1, Atletico Madrid 2.

## RUGBY

## New season begins

By JONATHAN KARP  
TEL AVIV. Young players will share the limelight with the veterans during the new rugby season which starts tomorrow. Apart from the regular league, for the first time, there will also be an official youth league comprising at least 12 teams.

The 15th Israel Rugby Football Union (IRFU) season commences tomorrow at 2 p.m. when ASA Tel Aviv host Technion-Kiryat Bialik at the Sportek in Tel Aviv, while Israel champions Ra'anana will have to wait a few weeks before they begin their title defence against the same teams that comprised the national league last year: ASA Tel Aviv, Technion-Kiryat Bialik, Galil Elyon, Kibbutz Yizre'el, and ASA Jerusalem.

League games this year will be played every other week, in order to

accommodate the youth games which will also be played on the alternate Saturdays.

Seeking to establish youth rugby firmly in Israel, the union has reorganized the junior league, creating northern and central divisions.

Another major change is that the juniors will play seven-a-side rugby only. "We had been opposed to this for a long time because we felt that the juniors should not play a game that they won't play regularly in the men's league," IRFU president Cyril Morris said.

Some of the established teams like Kibbutz Yizre'el, Ra'anana and ASA Tel Aviv have supported youth teams for some time, but there appears to be a blossoming of interest among the youth, inspired by former national team and league players who live throughout the country. For example, Michael, Netanya, Kecher Vair, Enak Hefar and Carmiel - where rugby does not exactly reign - are planning to field youth teams this year.

Young players will also be able to benefit from the expertise of a French rugby coach, who is expected to visit Israel for a month later this year. The offer to send the coach came as a goodwill gesture following last year's Israel national team tour of France. Morris reported.

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RECENT WEEKS and months have not brought happy tidings for Elbit Computers.

The company was deeply involved in the Lavi project, and its cancellation will cause problems. Right now, Elbit has dozens of highly-paid staffers wasting their time, waiting for the Lavi alternative projects to materialise. Altogether, 300 people from the avionics division have to be transferred to other areas of the company's business.

The Israeli defence budget as a whole, after being cut sharply in 1985/86, may be under pressure again soon, if and when the threatened cuts in U.S. aid force further budget cuts here. Budget cuts in the Israeli context, after all, must mean defence.

Then there is the U.S. defence budget. Elbit's growing integration into the U.S. defence market, through joint ventures and sub-contracting with and for leading firms such as Loral and Boeing, make it vulnerable to a reversal of the rapid growth in defence spending that characterized the Reagan era.

All this means uncertainty regarding sales and profits in the coming years. It is hardly surprising then, that the stock market crash in the U.S., where Elbit is traded in the over-the-counter market, hit the company's shares harder than most. On Tuesday the share price closed at \$5, compared to \$9.5 in late June, when the company made an issue of new shares in the U.S., and a high earlier in the year of about \$11.5.

Elbit's president, Emmanuel Gil, has just returned from a trip to the U.S. in which he met with brokerage houses' analysts. The original idea was to try and persuade them that Elbit is in fundamentally in good shape and should interest them and their clients. The timing of his trip, however, was not suitable — to put it mildly — for the issuance of enthusiastic buy recommendations.

But Gil's message, at least in the fundamental and longer-term sense, was a solid one, and the analysts reportedly appreciated it, even if they could make little use of it in the short term. Elbit, said Gil, is in a strong position, financially, organizationally and in terms of production and marketing, to overcome the problems it faces.

Financially, the figures speak for themselves. The balance sheets for the year ending March 31, 1987 show a company with total assets of \$160 million, and shareholder's equity of \$82m. Since then, the sale of 750,000 new shares which brought in over \$6m, in new funds, plus accruing profits, will have pushed equity well past \$90m — compared with a current market value of between \$70m and \$80m.

Current assets, at \$112m., were

well in excess of current liabilities, which then totalled \$39m., while cash, bank deposits and holdings of government bonds by themselves amounted to over \$24m. — to which the share sale proceeds must be added. Long-term debt, on the other hand, was a modest \$19m.

Net sales were \$175m. last year, a modest rise of 4 per cent over 1985/86, but over twice the total of four years earlier. Net profits slipped from \$18m. to \$16m. in the year ending March 31, 1987, but that may also be compared to the less than \$5m. of 1982/83, or even the \$12m. of the following year.

Finally, the backlog of orders stood at a whopping \$278m., up from \$254m. in March 1986, with 70 per cent of these orders coming from abroad, compared to a current sales balance of 60 per cent exports and 40 per cent local. Even that 60/40 ratio is a reversal of Elbit's position 4-5 years ago, when the local market (ie the IDF) took the bulk of its sales.

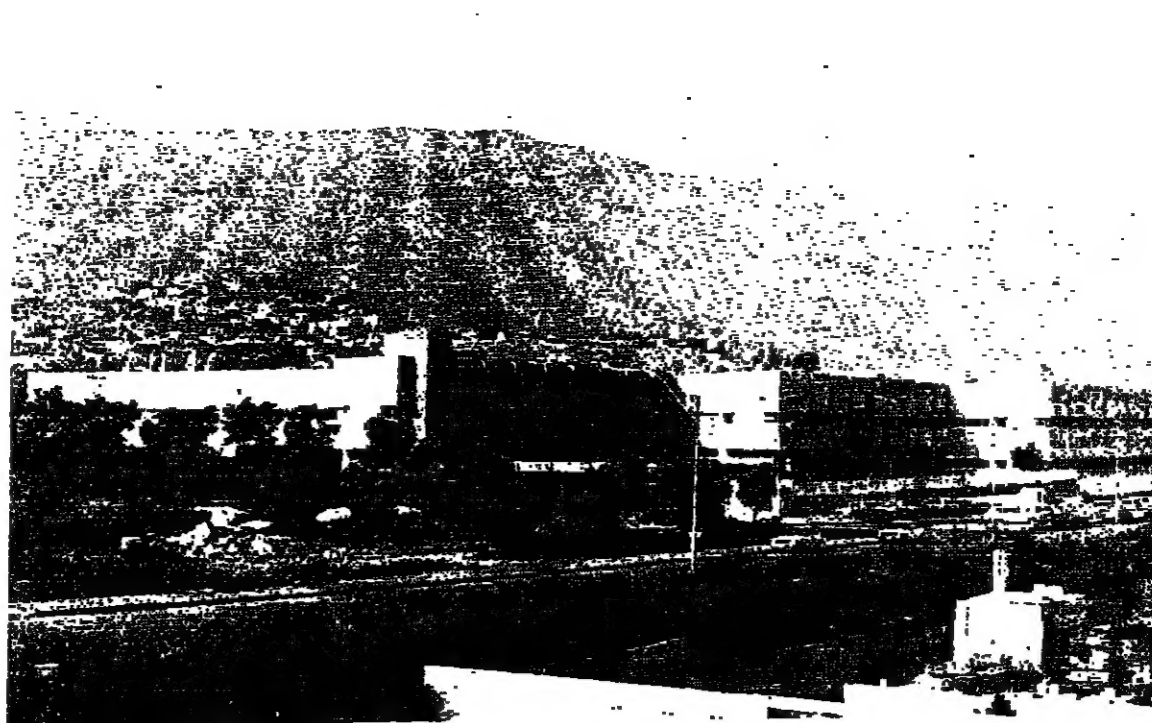
IN SHORT, Elbit's balance sheet and general financial position is almost embarrassingly strong. It is probably true to say that if the company were an indigenous American firm, it would have been at the receiving end of juicy takeover bids — as indeed recently occurred to an American defence contractor of similar size. The Israeli risk factor will probably prevent any such development with regard to Elbit, while its parent, Elron, as well as the Israeli defence establishment, with which it is closely linked, would not welcome it either.

But what it does mean is that Elbit has ample resources to weather the stormy weather that now seems to be brewing.

Furthermore, the trend of recent events has not taken the company by surprise. The June 1987 share prospectus discusses all the factors that were then threats, and have now either materialised, or seem likely to in the near future.

The Lavi project, for instance, is stated to have represented between seven and 10 per cent of revenues in the last three fiscal years, and to be seven per cent of the March 1987 orders backlog. If the Lavi were halted, the company said it expected to take part in alternative programmes, but "would likely experience a delay in the period in which revenues generated from any alternative programme would occur." Of course, if no alternative contracts emerged, "the company's operations would be adversely affected."

That is unlikely, though. Elbit is involved in a great deal more than the Lavi. It makes systems for ground, air and sea systems, and has succeeded in marketing these in the U.S., increasingly



## Elbit keeps rolling with the punches

through joint ventures with major U.S. defence electronics firms. Thus while, to use the dry prose of the prospectus, "Elbit cannot be assured that the Israeli or U.S. or any other governments will continue to purchase its products in the long term," and "the company does not believe that sales to the (Israeli government) will grow over the next several years, given the reduction in defence expenditures," it nevertheless "does not believe that Israeli government cut-backs will adversely affect its business as the company is involved in programmes which it believes are considered vital to Israel's national security."

As regards the U.S., "the company does not believe it will be adversely affected by reductions in the U.S. defence budget, given the suitability of its products for upgrading existing military equipment."

THE UNDERLYING reason for this confidence may be summed up as follows: There will be budgetary stringency, in Israel, the U.S. and probably everywhere. This seems far more certain now than when the prospectus was written in June. But while defence spending as a whole will be trimmed, defence electronics will not suffer much. And, what is more, while the pur-

Pinhas Landau on how Elbit plans to cope with the loss of work on the Lavi and the possibility of a cut in its sales in the U.S. market



Emmanuel Gil, Elbit's president

chase of major new systems — Lavi and the like — is bound to be held up or shelved altogether, the need to gear up for the battlefield of the future will maintain or even boost

demand for the stuff Elbit specializes in, especially "upgrading."

Thus, for example, Elbit has been the key contractor in the provision of avionics systems that have been put into the IAF's fleet of Phantoms, changing them from venerable, fully up-to-date aircraft capable of many more years of active service. The same is true for older tanks, which have been upgraded with new fire control systems, produced by Elbit.

Corporate strategy places great emphasis on this kind of work, because it wants to wean itself from dependence on subsidies or other government-inspired goodies. The experience of recent years has shown them to be a long-term addiction so that it is preferable to be a sub-contractor or junior partner to someone like Boeing than a junkie of the defence, finance and trade ministries' bureaucrats/pushers.

In short, the very budget-cutting process at work round the world is likely to channel demand toward the kinds of products Elbit excels at. However, as Elbit's Gil readily admits, the competition in the markets is going to get much tougher, as the total defence market shrinks and all the main players try to muscle in on

the areas still showing growth.

Elbit's main advantages, in this context, are its close links with the IDF, which mean that its products are planned to answer real and current needs, and that they are soon tested and modified in real battle conditions. Obviously, this is a major selling-point in export markets, as many Israeli defence firms will agree. But the need for constant R&D, stemming from the dramatic pace of development in military electronics, means that there can never be any resting on laurels. Fast achievements are even less of a guarantee for future success in this business than in most others.

To position itself to take full advantage of the opportunities and threats emanating from its changing business environment, Elbit has recently completed a comprehensive internal reorganization. While the company has a round of managerial and organisational shaking-up every two to three years, as part of its regular pattern of existence, the latest one has been unusually far-reaching. The theme has been to decentralise control and authority by creating five profit centres or divisions which will be autonomous to a large degree.

These will be avionics; ground forces systems (for tanks and artillery); naval systems and simulators (which are mostly, but not all, for navy use); future battlefield systems; and "built to print" systems.

The "future battlefield" division will be the one to seek work in the "Lavi alternative programmes." One example of where Elbit sees major developments in the battlefield of the future is helicopters. These, according to Gil, are likely to become standard and vital weapons in a variety of roles, to a much greater extent than at present. Artificial intelligence applications are another area where Elbit sees a big future, for itself as well.

"Built to print" simply means that the customer orders a product on the basis of existing development, with the contractor, in this case Elbit, doing the manufacturing, sales and service. The company that developed the product in question sells the rights to its product, without itself engaging in production. The buyer then seeks a company that can build the item on the basis of the plans, or "print", that it has acquired.

This is something that Elbit has done in the past on a small scale, and is now upgrading to a separate division, apparently because it has identified this as a growing trend, and because its manufacturing facilities, in Carmiel, can compete on the basis of cost and quality for this kind of work. For Israeli high-tech companies, the idea of being a mere

manufacturer of someone else's ideas is perhaps demeaning, but for a firm the size of Elbit, and in today's markets, you have to grow up and go where the business is, not play prima donna.

As part of the reorganization, the number of vice-presidents was reduced (for the first time) from 11 to 10, and six of them switched posts.

IN ADDITION to these divisions, Elbit has several subsidiaries engaged in a range of electronic products whose single common feature is that they are all for civilian markets. Given its belief that the military market will both shrink and become more crowded, it is only natural that it is pinning much of its hope for longer-term growth on these companies. In the last three years, commercial sales have been only 20-25 per cent of Elbit's total.

Elbit has come a long way from the depressed period it went through at the beginning of this decade. Its main achievements are particularly reflected in the growth of sales and profits that it can boast, but these do not tell the whole story.

The company's foresight in undertaking a long-term strategy of reducing its reliance on local sales to the Israeli defence sector, and switching its efforts to export markets, is the main reason for its success in recent years. It has also diversified its range of products, both within the different branches of the defence sector and in growing commercial activity. It has pursued a policy mix of acquisitions, joint ventures and sub-contracting that highlights its appreciation of the crucial point that the ends are what count, not the means.

All this, however, can now be seen to be only the starting-point for the next cycle, which will be even more difficult than the previous one. Granted, Elbit's relentless cost-cutting while growing, that has doubled productivity per worker within five years, should be an example for the entire economy. It is certainly a sharp contrast to the feather-bedding and inefficiency at Israel Aircraft Industries, while Elbit's correct trend assessments enabled it to avoid or surmount the disasters that befell its neighbour and sister-company Elscint, and many other high-tech firms.

But the loss of the Lavi, potential budget cuts, a falling dollar and other local and world problems remain as threats. Elbit's position may be good in relative terms, but when earthquakes strike as frequently as they have been doing recently, even well-constructed buildings are in danger. Only when the tremors cease and the dust settles, will the inherent advantages of having solid foundations be appreciated. (Third in a series)

## Second thoughts on 'Market' philosophy

Avi Temkin on the shares turmoil

The Great Conservative Celebration could be over. As the economic crisis unfolds in the United States and the rest of the West, and the world drifts into a recession of yet unknown proportions, it is clear that the self-confidence of the new right

has been shaken. Whatever happens in the political arena, it is clear that the value system which lies behind conservatism will be exposed. Modern conservatism, in its Reaganomic or Thatcherite versions, is based on an almost religious belief

in The Market. At the values' level, conservatism came about as a reaction to the earlier application of what were thought to be Keynesian principles. At the political-economy level, it was a reaction against the fiscal crisis of the Seventies when the welfare state lost its ability to deliver the goods after the energy crunch.

At the political level the present crisis could lead to a new realignment of social forces. The premise of Thatcherism and Reaganomics was a broadening of the social coalition sustaining neo-conservatism. They provided affluence to some of their countries' middle classes, replacing the inflation which had made inroads into their savings and incomes during the Seventies. They offered them "popular capitalism", membership of a "shareholders' society" in which they would be able to enjoy a proportion, even if small, of the financial benefits which had traditionally accrued to the very rich.

Their success was evident. They were able to erode the political basis of trade unions and of left-wing, or even liberal, parties. Unemployment, poverty and deprivation became tolerable, even natural. As long as the stock market was in a bullish mood, the middle classes could pretend things were not as bad.

But now such coalition is in danger. Two weeks of financial turmoil and record drops in the world's financial centres have probably done more to undermine the adherence of the middle classes to conservatism than any other development in recent years.

Those at the top of the wealth ladder can withstand financial blows. But what about the thousands of small investors who only a few years ago had nothing to do with shares, those for whom savings meant provident and pension funds, building societies or government



John Maynard Keynes...Depressions can happen.

bonds? They will be very much affected. The promise of affluence could go sour. It was always possible to hedge against inflation; there was no sudden wiping out of wealth. But in the present crisis, the dreams of rapid gains have suddenly turned into a nightmare.

THE CONSEQUENCES of the crisis may not be only political, but could also affect the ideological foundations of Western society. The basis of the conservative credo is that by letting the free market display its potentialities, the best possible world will be achieved. Intervention, especially state intervention, will only spell trouble. The state should mingle as little as possible with the economy, unless it wants higher inflation.

Opponents of conservatism have argued that, left to its own devices, the free market would get the economy into deep difficulties. Even before the present crisis erupted it was clear that poverty was on the increase in the U.S., and that Thatcher had turned large areas of the north of England into wastelands. The "free market" philosophy simply abstracts from the obvious: people come to the market place endowed with very different amounts of wealth. The starting point of a

black unemployed American is not the same as that for David Rockefeller Jr. When left to their own devices, it is clear whose interests will prevail.

If the present crisis leads to a major recession, the intellectual consequences could also be of great proportions. It is for this reason that conservatives such as Milton Friedman have declared that the present crisis will not lead to a 1929-type situation. For obvious reasons conservative thinkers are not fond of references to the 1929 crash and the ensuing depression, which lasted for over a decade.

That crisis took place while government intervention was at its minimum. Andrew Mellon, the Treasury secretary under Presidents Coolidge and Hoover was as free a marketer as any of the modern right-wingers. The government share in the economy was minimal. In fact 1929-vintage conservatives were no different from present day ones: they sought balanced budgets as a panacea for the difficult situation.

Opponents of conservatism have

stressed that without government activism the economy will run a business cycle of expansion, boom, crisis and stagnation. Markets are important, they should operate. But markets can fail, they can give the wrong signals from the point of view of the public interest. When the economy is expanding, rapid profits come in and the mood is optimistic: firms do not fear going into debt. Investment and spending increase rapidly. But as the boom proceeds, problems and imbalances accumulate. They can lead to financial turmoil, like that now affecting the world. Investment suddenly turns down. A recession settles in.

The economic crisis in the 1930s brought about what was called the "Keynesian revolution". What John Maynard Keynes rebelled against was the economic orthodoxy which stated that depressions could not happen. Left alone the market would end the problem of unemployment. It was Keynes who convinced the world that it was that very same market which was creating the problem. Entrepreneurs' expectations as they were in the Thir-

ties, there was very little incentive to spend and invest. People just held on to their cash. Government intervention was needed to save capitalism from itself.

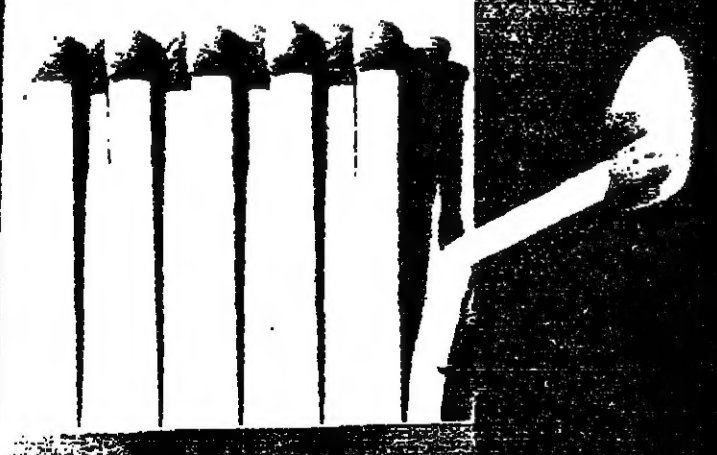
It is still too early to say whether a comparable revolution can take place in future years. In recent years, many economists have been busy trying to convince the world that individuals and firms are rational entities. They claim that these entities may make temporary mistakes in their interpretation of economic developments, therefore bringing a passing deviation from full employment, but very soon these mistakes are corrected. Thus, if nobody interferes, the market will soon take care that all necessary adjustments take place. What this amounts to is nothing less than the pre-Keynesian notion that depressions are impossible.

The world of these economists is not one of financial turmoil, monopolies or political interests. It is this fiction which any intellectual response to conservatism will have to deal with.

The Economics Page is edited by Shlomo Mazar.

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 Nordau, Hadera Haemal, P.O. Box 4810 (31047) Telephone 645444 Fax 645446 Published  
 daily, except Saturday, in Jerusalem, Israel by The Palestine Post Ltd. Printed by The  
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## Paradoxes of partnership

SITTING behind closed doors in Jerusalem this week, the Jewish Agency's board of governors has been weighing projects for the promotion of aliya, the upbuilding of Israel and the Jewish and Zionist education of Jews the world over that will entail the disbursement of some \$450 million. The one half of the board that is composed of Diaspora fund-raisers, some of them big-time donors in their own right, has also gone into action this week to remind the other half which is made up of Zionist party representatives, that it can and will veto candidates which it deems not fitting for the post of the agency's chairman, no matter how much support they may receive at the World Zionist Congress.

Newsworthy stuff? Not, it seems, to the mind of the Israeli man-in-the-street. And certainly not for the average Diaspora Jew. For all its momentous past contributions to the Jewish renaissance, the agency, sad to admit, has over the years become an item of little public interest, except to its own placemen and their party leaders. Just like the World Zionist Organization.

The "bombshell" of the week from the board has been the refusal of the fund-raisers to approve a backstage agreement between the Labour Party and the Reform and Conservative Movements for the election of Labour's Akiva Lewinsky, the agency's present treasurer, as chairman in succession to Arye Dulin. But it is a bombshell with a distinctly limited crater.

No longer the scaffolding it once provided for the establishment of the Jewish state, the Jewish Agency today is not even the more recently touted bridge between Israel and the Diaspora. What it is, is a minor league organization within the general Israeli party-patronage system.

For years now the agency's chairmanship has been a consolation prize awarded to, and sought by, Israeli political leaders past their prime and with no real future in the big leagues, such as the government or even the Knesset. And possibly even the Histadrut. Able young men in a hurry, like Likud candidate Binyamin Netanyahu, now have nothing to look for in the agency, and it is hardly surprising that Israel's present ambassador to the UN has spurned his party's offer of the chairmanship.

The trouble with Mr. Lewinsky in the eyes of the donors is not that he is a Labourite, far from it. Moreover, he has also been an able treasurer. But the Diaspora contributors apparently want someone with a more dashing image, regardless of the domestic political fact that the Jewish Agency no longer attracts such figures.

The Jewish Agency is what it is, a prosaic budget-allocating organization, with lots of accumulated perks attractive to second-rank politicians. No amount of bright packaging will alter the fact. What the agency at this time needs at the top is less "dynamic leadership" than wise direction and prudent management, amidst the feudal party system that prevails. The same is essentially true of the World Zionist Organization.

All that, however, is neither here nor there. In the "reconstructed" agency the fund-raisers have half the votes, and no major decision can be taken without their concurrence.

## Justice and the military

A LITTLE REVOLUTION was effected in Israel's system of military justice with the adoption not long ago, though after an intolerably long delay, of key recommendations made by an expert committee under the chairmanship of Supreme Court President Meir Shamgar. Unfortunately a number of the committee's proposals were rejected, making the reform rather incomplete.

The proposal that met with the strongest army opposition called for the stripping of the IDF chief of staff and the area commanding officers of their right to commute punishment meted out by military courts to offending soldiers and officers, and even grant wholesale pardons. The committee reasoned that however traditional that right was, it in fact transformed the top brass, without warrant, into a higher court of military appeal.

If any proof were still required of the need to take away that right, it has now been provided by O/C Southern Command Yitzhak Mordechai.

Aluf Mordechai, himself very nearly a victim of a perversion of justice in the notorious Bus 300 case, has ordered the release of three soldiers convicted of the brutal torturing of a Khan Yunis Arab. The three are due to be freed next Sunday, after having served but one of the three months to which they were sentenced. The general's reason for taking the action is reported to have been the fact that the three had been good soldiers, and that they had been provoked by the Arab into what they did.

The provocation appears to have consisted in the Arab's refusing to perform the soldiers' degrading orders. It may well be that Aluf Mordechai was moved to pardon the three not, as might have been assumed, because they are Jewish, but precisely because they are not. But that would still be a poor reason, especially when the gravity of the offence and the lightness of the original sentence are taken into account. It should be viewed as an insult, not an honour, for Israel's Druse soldiers to be given special consideration when they victimize a fellow Arab.

A strong demurrer to Aluf Mordechai's order has been taken by the IDF's chief law officer. This is encouraging, but the next step should be a genuine revamping of Israel's system of military justice.

## THE MORNING AFTER

Minister Yosef Shapira has now added the "benevolent transfer" to the burgeoning list of odious proposals for dealing with Israel's Arab population. Preceded by deputy Defence Minister Michael Dekel, Teiyya chairman MK Yuval Neeman, Major General (res) Rehavam Zeevi and others, Shapira has elevated support for MK Meir Kahane's plank up to the cabinet level.

Shapira's proposal to grant \$20,000 to Arabs leaving Israel is qualified by a host of ifs and buts meant to distinguish it from Kahane's brand of racism. But basically they show how an approach, which could be called "humanistic" racism, has won the hearts of many right-wing and religious Jews. Shapira differs from Kahane in style. But his idea reflects growing awareness on the right that the demographic time-bomb will have to be defused.

A careful head count in the Knesset these days would uncover a sizeable, if discreet lobby for forcing Arabs out of the West Bank and Gaza. There have also been some ominous rumblings about the civil rights of Arabs who live inside the Green Line. The Likud is apparently planning to win votes among Jews in the next election campaign by telling them how many Arabs support Labour.

While the Knesset and the media have been making a commendable attempt to prevent Kahane's message from poisoning public debate, his task has been carried out by others. Very soon, there will be no escaping the image peering at us from the mirror: the future is here, and it is ugly.

MENACHEM SHALEV

# Political climate in U.S. right for Israel peace move

Wolf Blitzer

ISRAEL WOULD be wise to take full advantage of this approaching final year of the Reagan administration to try to advance the stalled peace process with its Arab neighbours. Waiting until after next year's U.S. presidential elections could prove rather costly for Israel.

Right now, Israel has an unusually supportive cast in Washington, with Reagan himself in the lead role. Secretary of State George Shultz has proven by word and deed that he, too, is a strong and steady friend, a combination which may not exist in the next administration.

Thus, what the national unity government in Jerusalem should do in the coming months is use this ultra-sympathetic team in Washington to Israel's own long-term advantage. It should try to set in motion a negotiating format that would be as favourable as possible in protecting Israel's long-term interests.

Even if less friendly faces should appear in the next U.S. administration—as is, of course, very possible irrespective of whether there is a Democratic or Republican victory—the components of these negotiations would by then already be set in motion. It would then be rather hard to reverse gears.

This, in fact, was the very advice Shultz privately offered both Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres during his recent talks with them in Jerusalem. In effect, the Secretary was saying, "Take advantage of me. You might not have this chance again."

On the surface, Shultz appeared to have made some headway. Shamir and Peres, for example, seemed to have narrowed their differences somewhat on the touchy matter of Soviet participation in the peace process. Perhaps there could, after all, be some modest U.S.-Soviet sponsorship, provided that it does not hinder actual direct, face-to-face negotiations. The superpowers, moreover, could not veto or impose any solutions.

But there is still a long way to go before any negotiations—under any format—get off the ground. Israel could very easily delay any start of serious negotiations. Some in Israel would no doubt welcome such a delay as an opportunity to further consolidate Israel's position on the West Bank.

But from the vantage point of the real politics of Washington, that approach seems incredibly short-sighted. Instead of allowing the status quo to continue, Israel should take

the initiative aggressively in making certain that genuine negotiations begin sooner rather than later.

The process can fuel the substance, and Israel now has an excellent chance—with American backing—of establishing the ground rules for the process. That might not be possible after the elections.

Israeli officials should understand that they need not now fear too much pressure coming from Washington as they enter into negotiations with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian team.

Certainly there have been times when the Reagan Administration has been annoyed with Israel over these past seven years. But the Americans have made it abundantly clear that they are not about to embark on an actual collision course with Jerusalem.

If it didn't happen during the war in Lebanon or in the aftermath of the Jonathan Jay Pollard spy scandal, it is unlikely to happen in the last year of a badly-weakened Reagan presidency.

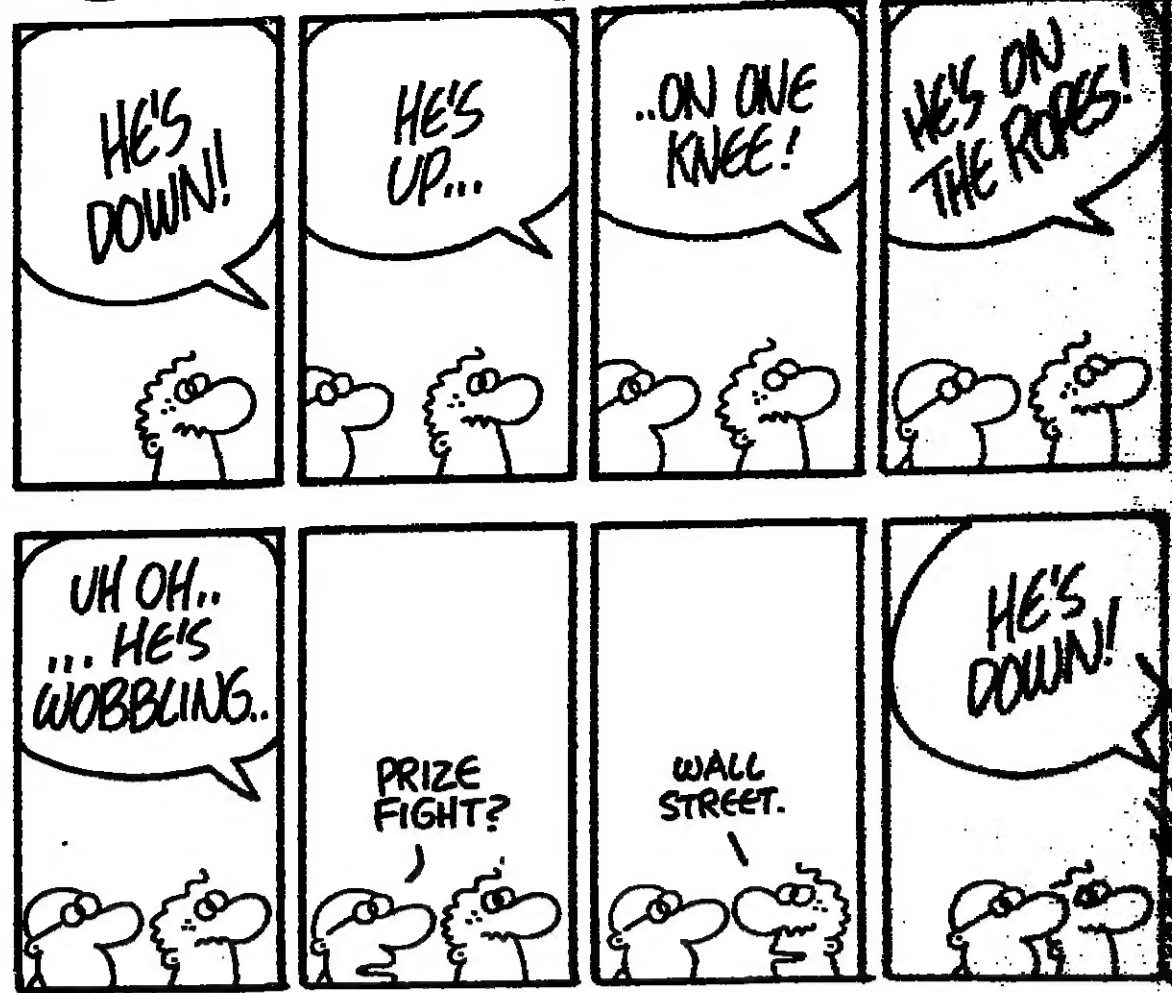
ISRAEL, moreover, is in an unusually strong position in Congress right now. With the Democrats in control of the Senate as well as the House of Representatives, the Republican White House instinctively knows that it cannot lean too heavily on Israel. There would be hell to pay on Capitol Hill.

Indeed, this current Congress is probably the most pro-Israel in history. All the key committees are heavily stacked in Israel's favour. This combination of political circumstances can only help to strengthen Israel's standing.

But even if the badly-divided government in Jerusalem should get its own act together and press hard for the start of serious peace negotiations, there is no cast-iron guarantee that the top leadership in Washington will take all the necessary steps to help. The Arab-Israeli conflict has not exactly been at the forefront of the Reagan administration's interests in recent years.

There are other more pressing problems, exacerbated by the Wall Street collapse and the mounting tensions in the Persian Gulf. The prospect of a U.S.-Soviet arms control agreement and a Reagan-Gorbachev summit is also more important and attractive for the Americans than sitting down to lengthy negotiations with Israeli and Arab leaders. Americans have tended to become uneasy and pessimistic in their thinking on the Arab-Israeli problem.

## The Friday Dry Bones



Even so, Israel may not have another golden opportunity to shape the procedural and substantive contours of negotiations such as it has at the present. It even has some leverage on the Soviet Union, which appears to be anxious to improve its own image in the West. Hence Israel should be pressing Washington to maintain a high level of interest and involvement.

Strategically, militarily, politically and economically, Israel's situation has also improved in recent years. The last time Israel managed to open serious peace negotiations with the Arabs was in 1973-74, shortly after the Yom Kippur War. At that time, Israel's strategic position was weak, despite its managing to reverse its early losses in the war. The country had suffered an enormous psychological blow. Its confidence had been shaken—as had its pride.

Israel had lost a huge percentage of its air force. It was forced to enter into great debt to pay for a new generation of replacement weaponry. Increasingly, Israel was isolated around the world. The PLO seemed on the rise. The Arabs, moreover, possessed both the political momentum and the oil weapon.

Much of that has now changed. There is a peace treaty with Egypt, meaning effectively that Israel need worry only about a one-front conventional war with Syria. Oil, at least in the short term, is no longer a weapon. During the war in Lebanon, for example, it was never even mentioned.

Militarily, Israel has been armed with the most reliable and sophisticated American weapons. It can handle the worst-case scenario involving both a conventional as well as a terrorist threat.

And politically, ties with Washington are much closer today than they were in the mid-1970s when President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger imposed their six-month "reassessment" of policy vis-a-vis Israel in order to force it into accepting the Sinai II accord. Such a "reassessment" today is virtually unthinkable, especially in the year preceding presidential and congressional elections—Israel's clout in Washington is always higher before, rather than after, elections.

THE U.S.-ISRAELI military and strategic relationship is very close. Israel has become a major non-Nato ally. There is routine and close coordination of policies and actions. Intelligence cooperation has resumed despite the setbacks of the Pollard affair.

This was vividly underscored the other evening at a reception in Washington. I happened to meet Judge William Webster, the former FBI head who recently succeeded the late William Casey as director of the CIA. To my surprise, he told me openly that he had recently undertaken a familiarization tour of several important countries with whom the U.S. has close intelligence-sharing ties.

"I had a wonderful experience in Israel," he related. Mayor Teddy Kollek had escorted him on a personal tour of Jerusalem, which he described as "a highlight."

The fact that Webster made a point of including Israel on his overseas tour was indicative of the unusually close ties between Washington and Jerusalem.

In the coming weeks and months, the U.S. and Israel will strengthen their military and strategic ties in all sorts of other ways. Formal discussions are scheduled for Washington in mid-November.

And despite the economic turmoil on Wall Street, there is also a realistic chance that Israel will manage to refinance part of its huge U.S. debt—a potentially significant cash-flow bonanza for Israel. Israeli officials may even be able to avoid a U.S. foreign aid cut because of the projected budget deficits.

All of those issues are certainly very important. But Israel's No. 1 objective remains what it has always been—namely, trying to achieve peace with its Arab neighbours. That will be extremely difficult. But right now, the political climate in the United States is about as favourable as it could ever be as far as Israel is concerned. A wise Israeli leadership will seize the moment quickly and effectively.

The writer is The Jerusalem Post Washington correspondent.

(Readers' Letters appear on page 11.)

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